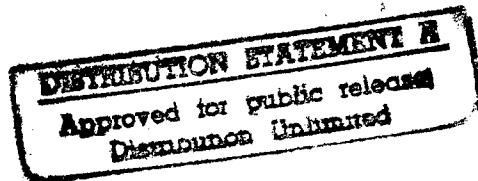


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13 NOVEMBER 1986

# East Europe Report



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ECONOMY

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

GEOTHERMAL DISTRICT HEATING PLANNED--In the next few years, the GDR will push toward tapping subterranean hot water reservoirs for heating purposes. Soon, heating plants operating on this principle are going to be built, primarily in Micklenburg, due to favorable geological conditions. A geothermal heating plant placed on line two years ago in Waren (Neubrandenburg bezirk) has proven successful, and will now serve as a prototype for additional installations. Currently, a large underground hot water reservoir near Schwerin is being tapped. In a few years, it is supposed to aid in heating thousands of residences in Schwerin's newly built district of Grosser Dreesch. Additional centers are planned for Neubrandenburg, Prenzlau, Rostock and Stralsund. According to figures from East Berlin's Ministry for Coal and Energy, the capital outlay for geothermal heating plants is no greater than for the traditional coal-fired heating plants, while the operating costs are far lower. [Text] [West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 134, 30 Aug 86 p 2] /7358

CSO: 2300/46

ECONOMY

POLAND

WOZNIAK SPEAKS TO ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES REVIEW COMMISSION

AU301029 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Sep 86 p 2

[*"Main Points"* of speech made by Marian Wozniak, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, at the inaugural meeting of the Party-Government Commission for Reviewing and Modernizing Economic and State Organizational Structures held in Warsaw on 24 September]

[Text] PAP--The efficient organization of work and other forms of collective life is a present-day requirement, a condition for social and economic progress, the source of economy, and a factor promoting intensive development. It is the yardstick that the party has decided to employ in evaluating personnel, enterprises, institutions, and organizational structures. The review of the functioning of state and economic organizational structures ought to become a catalyst for organizational acceleration.

The congress report and an examination of the goals that have been set indicate that the process comprises at least six fundamental areas. The first of these areas is that of the operation of the subjects of economic activity. The second of these areas is that of service institutions, regional administrative bodies, and organizations that provide services to the population, these include public and legal institutions, and public utilities.

The range of activities that must be undertaken in the area of enterprise organization is extremely varied. Alongside units that are operating efficiently, there are enterprises that have reached a point of organizational stagnation. Fundamental processes in the production and services spheres and technological developments and processes occupy a key position in this area. The review is intended to benefit work forces. There cannot be good plant pay systems without job certification. During the upcoming years organizational progress will be the yardstick by which managerial personnel will be judged.

The review of the functioning and organization of bodies providing services to the populace has two aims. The first of these is to reduce the amount of time and effort that people have to expend in having their affairs seen to. The second is to eliminate the need to have matters dealt with by public service bodies when this is not necessary, when this is the outcome of too many regulations, an unwillingness on the part of employees of such bodies to bear responsibility for their actions, and bureaucracy. We are hoping for active

social participation in this area, for proposals and draft solutions from the public, PRON cells, and people's councils.

The third area in the field of economic organizational structures covers the varied organization of different branches of the economy. It is essential that a variety of approaches to structures be adopted in this field. There are branches of the economy in which structures should facilitate the pursuit of a joint development policy, the pooling of resources for expensive research work, and the coordination of investment plans, and there are other branches of the economy in which structures should promote flexibility and competition between enterprises. The structure of the economy ought to be enriched by the addition of new, small enterprises, especially innovative enterprises. Selection based on efficiency, and even collapse and liquidation ought not to be feared.

The organization of central institutions is not a problem that is independent of the state of the organizational structure in the economy. The formulation of a concept for the organization of the center calls for the simultaneous consideration of issues concerning the organization of branches of the economy and the organization of economic subjects in these branches. We do not wish to limit the review of central structures to the framework of the state administration alone. The review will also entail job certification of the functions of national trade unions, the management of cooperatives, and other structures that have been the objects of public criticism for a long time.

Social organizations that receive subsidies from the state budget and various types of institutions that form part of the superstructure will fall within the purview of the review. A logical conclusion stemming from the resolutions adopted at the 10th Congress is the application of review methods to the functioning of the PZPR apparatus, beginning with the Central Committee apparatus. This process has begun. The Central Party Control Commission and the Central Review Commission were merged at the 10th Congress, as were their regional commissions. The Second Central Committee Plenum saw the merging of two departments: Propaganda and Information. The leaderships of the ZSL and SD are adopting a similar approach.

One element of the review process is a personnel review of directors, which ought to be conducted in conjunction with the review of organizational structures and the enhancement of the status of enterprise directors. The aims, methods, and means of individual areas of the review must differ. However, the process in every area should be one of gradual adjustment to changes occurring in the environment, to changes in sciences, technology, and management.

Support for the economic reform process ought to be regarded as being one of the main tasks contained in the review of organizational structures and posts. At the same time, the review significantly extends the scope of socialist reconstruction by encompassing new areas of life and social activity. This applies in particular to the functioning of the administration and other areas in the provision of services to the public.

The aims of the review ought to be realized in complete accord with the principle of socializing administration, or work force participation in managing

plants, and participation in the resolution of town, commune, and estate problems by their inhabitants. We hope for active support in the implementation of the review and in the effective execution of the decisions that it engenders.

We propose that the entire undertaking be directed by permanent teams that will be responsible for particular areas of the review. A permanent team responsible for information, propaganda, and public opinion research ought to direct propaganda and information activities. We envisage the setting up of working groups to deal with immediate tasks.

The process of implementing the decisions stemming from the review has to be preceded by consultation and discussion. We are counting on support for our activities from objective expert appraisals.

The review is expected to produce palpable advantages for people. This thesis ought to be regarded as a lodestar by all cells engaged in the operation and by those cells that can assist the operation with knowledge and information. We are counting on support from control organs that can identify shortcomings in the functioning of organizational structures.

Although there is general support for the review, we note that certain aspects of public reaction to the idea indicate that there is some lack of understanding of the intentions behind the review and a danger that its essence will be distorted. A tendency to regard the review as a short-term, spectacular campaign has emerged. There have been instances of over hasty efforts at various levels of the economic and state administrations to "sensational results." There have also been passive and defensive reactions to the review.

The review should give rise to greater demand for information technology on the part of enterprises and institutions. A computer in the enterprise calls for organizational order and indicates the scale of bureaucracy. We do not advocate the use of information technology in management as an end in itself. Organizational progress is the cheapest way of improving managerial efficiency and improving the quality of life.

We want to work openly, to be subject to public control, so that everyone can find part of his experience and thoughts reflected in our work. We need criticism and self-criticism. We should make use of the suggestions produced by the extensive debate that preceded elections to the Sejm and people's councils and the 10th PZPR Congress. We must act bearing in mind that we are to present a report on the organizational condition of the state and the economy at the national delegate conference.

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ECONOMY

POLAND

MEAT EXPORTER RELATES POST-CHERNOBYL LOSSES

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 27 Aug 86 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Zdzislaw Brylski, director of Animex, by Pawel Tarnowski]

[Text] [Question] It will be difficult for Polish consumers to believe but supposedly you are having problems with the sale of meat?

[Answer] For many years now, we have had to deal with intense competition on the world foodstuffs market. For each place vacated by one supplier, immediately another five are trying to take his place. We have long ago become accustomed to these situations and have accepted the fact that the client dictates the conditions. Following the nuclear reactor accident at Chernobyl, our opportunities declined even more. Trade competitors took advantage of the accident in the Ukraine to initiate a campaign directed against imports of food from Poland. Unfortunately, I must admit that it has been rather successful.

[Question] Is the "outsider" lacking in scruples likely to harm a firm with the 35-year tradition and good reputation of Animex?

[Answer] But such people do not take part in this activity. The world meat market, especially in Western Europe, is impenetrable and has lately shrunk even more. The export of approximately 60 percent of Poland's meat and cattle for slaughter to the Common Market countries has resulted in vast beef surpluses totaling 700,000 tons. In order to be able to sell anything there, one must work very hard since prices are low. During the last 3 years, prices have declined or remained the same. In addition, in the Common Market member nations, meat imported from non-member nations has high compensatory charges levied against it, and for certain types of beef it totals \$2,000 per ton. As a result, the customer pays correspondingly less to the supplier. In other words, there is no place for beginners in this game. Consequently, "old friends" benefit from the situation and are now attempting to trip us up.

[Question] With whom is Animex dealing currently?

[Answer] As I have already mentioned, Western Europe remains our most important partner. Understandably, we are not trying to sell much beef there. On the other hand, Italy, Greece, and West Germany are our traditional clients

for fat live stock, with lower compensatory charges levied in accordance with agree-upon quotas for fattening calves and for game. If small amounts of beef and pork are exported then it is only of the highest quality. In accordance with the regulations in effect in this area, export of remaining types would not bring in any profits. Recently, Poland has become a supplier for the Vatican. This is a client who demands much and also pays well. Besides the Common Market countries, the United States is one of our more important clients. As is well-known, we have been exporting ham and other high-quality goods there for years. It is worthwhile to add that following the Chernobyl accident we did not observe any indication of discrimination by the American government toward Polish goods, although this does not mean that quality control inspections have been stopped. Following a short period of turmoil, trade has returned to normal.

[Question] If you fail to find new customers, export prospects on which we are dependent will be poor?

[Answer] We place much hope on the Arab countries. Although trade with them has been going on for a while. The difficulty with this is that others are plotting similar plans. In addition, following the decline in oil prices, our Near East clients have started to have serious payment problems and meat exports to this area are not developing as expected. Despite this, we are not resigned.

Meanwhile, this year Brazil unexpectedly became an important importer of meat. The international partnership, of which Animex is a member, sold among other things 15,000 tons of Polish beef to Brazil. It is, however, difficult to count on them as a permanent customer.

It is another story with the Soviet Union, which after a break of many years accepted a sample shipment of beef and will most likely buy 12,000 tons from us this year, at so-called current world market prices and in hard currency. We hope in this way to regain the Soviet market.

[Question] In addition to your old problems, you now have new ones associated with the fear in the West following the Ukrainian reactor accident, as well as the attempts to unseat Animex which does not represent a convenient competitor for everyone. Did you attempt to assess the firm's losses resulting from the unfounded restrictions placed upon your exports, which are reaffirmed by the radiological inspections being carried out on food in Poland and abroad?

[Answer] Our exports were halted for almost 2 months. The Western press and other mass media sources even today are capable of warning against eating meat from socialist countries. Many supermarkets in Great Britain ceased to sell Polish cold cuts. For a time, our export of sheep, horses, and cattle declined greatly. This year, the export of fattening calves for veal will be 70,000 to 80,000 head, less than what we can export. We continue to experience problems with the sale of game which recently earned us 20 million dollars annually.

All of this is happening under conditions where each piece of meat exported is inspected closely. Radiation levels of the meat do not exceed the allowable norms, both here and in the West, and our findings are hardly ever questioned.

[Question] Since the situation with the goods is excellent, why are exports so bad?

[Answer] The 2-month trade restrictions cannot be made up. In addition, the current procedure for renewed inspection of meat exported by socialist countries takes several days. The goods are perishable, and they do not always withstand the process in good condition. After all, the customer does have the option of choosing another supplier and he is not always patient. The EWG [European Common Market] agriculture ministers are scheduled to discuss this matter once again at the end of September, and I am hopeful that specific inspection at the time of import will be liberalized in accordance with common sense and with respect for the interests of the parties concerned.

Recently, Animex lost 25 to 30 million dollars for unjustifiable reasons, and meat inspection costs in Poland have exceeded 100 million zloty. In effect, we will be unable to accomplish our growth plans by 20 to 25 percent this year in the export of livestock for slaughter and for meat. If this groundless propaganda continues our losses can go even higher.

[Question] Since Animex has such problems with exports, then perhaps customers of the domestic meat stores will benefit, and bacon and ham products will remain here at home?

[Answer] If I were you, I would not be especially pleased with this. Meat currently represents 25 to 30 percent of Poland's entire agricultural export. This brings our economy approximately 350 million dollars.

Currently, we are exporting approximately 150,000 to 160,000 tons abroad, of which one-half is horsemeat, mutton, game, geese, ducks, etc. In other words, this represents a product which is in relatively low demand at home. The entire annual export of the remaining types of meat, which would gladly welcome domestic demand corresponds to a 2-week period of consumption in Poland. Therefore, these do not represent amounts which could appreciably improve the food supply situation, whereas the export of this meat would enable us to purchase many goods abroad, ones which represent basic necessities for our agriculture sector, such as fertilizers, fodder, etc. Coffee and tea imports for everyone, which are as important as meat each year cost Poland millions of dollars. After all these dollars must be obtained somewhere.

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ECONOMY

POLAND

#### TOURIST INDUSTRY REVENUES DROP IN 1986

Warsaw POLITYKA (POLITYKA EKSPORT IMPORT supplement No 16, Aug 86) in Polish No 33, 16 Aug 86 p 16

[Article by Anna Romaszkan]

[Text] When I begin to think out loud in the Sports-Tourist Office as to why tours to Poland are expensive, for example, a 2-week tour of Poland costs the Western tourist more than two weeks in a luxurious villa in Greece, the director of the office, Krzysztof Goralczyk explains that to compare Poland with Majorca is like comparing oranges with radishes.

One does not travel to Poland in order to lie around on a tropical beach, since we do not have this here, but rather to become acquainted with the history, culture, monuments, and folklore. Director Goralczyk continues to explain that our prices cannot be compared with those in Southern Europe, since there one stays in one place. We have bus trips and costs associated with accommodations at different hotels, museum admissions, and tour guides.

#### Let Us Look At Western Brochures

The Swiss Imholz Bureau elicits interest in visiting the capital for 4 to 5 days through its slogan "Warsaw, an unusual city in Eastern Europe". The cost is 455 Swiss Francs (including a 3-star hotel). The same tour to Prague costs 10 francs more. We can find consolation in the fact that we are not the most expensive of the socialist countries.

The West German brochure advertises a traditional 7-day tour of Poznan, Warsaw, Czestochowa, and Wroclaw for DM 490. The northern tour of Szczecin, Gdansk, and the Mazury region is DM 508. Another brochure evokes interest in a 6-day tour to Wroclaw, including trips to surrounding areas for DM 490. The interesting fact is that a 7-day tour to Capri (including trips to nearby spots) inclusive of a comparable hotel only costs DM 398, and 9 days in Istanbul together with tours of nearby places costs DM 478. These represent prices exclusive of meals. It has proven to be a more convenient method, since tourists do not want to be tied down by meal schedules. They prefer to have more free time for themselves. On the average, tour prices are

increasing 2 to 3 percent annually; and each time conditions and programs are coordinated by both sides, be it the Polish Tourist Bureau or the foreign travel bureau.

Is Poland expensive or inexpensive for the foreign tourist? I have heard the opinion expressed in several Polish travel offices that foreign tourist bureaus complain that Poland is too expensive. Accommodations in a good hotel, a 4 or 5-star hotel cost anywhere from 3,500 to 4,800 zloty. Meals in a hotel cost 2,200 zloty daily (500 for breakfast, lunch . . . dinner . . .) which when converted under the official rate for dollars becomes quite high. Especially, if one considers that these services are for groups. In addition to tour costs there are additional charges for profit margins for the Polish and foreign tour bureaus which must also make a profit. Consequently, the opinion that Poland is expensive is formed.

The Main Committee for Physical Culture and Tourism [GKKFiT], foreign department director, Robert Kepinski explains that: We must propose prices which are comparable with offers in the West. Here accommodations with breakfast correspond to those offered in other countries in hotels of comparable quality.

Our prices are somewhat lower than those in Czechoslovakia, and a bit higher than those in Hungary. Hungary represents an excellent example of how to develop tourism.

Budapest has more accommodations on a comparable level than Orbis has in all of Poland. Hungary estimates that if tourist revenues in 1985 totaled 280 million dollars, and after all it is a much smaller country which does not have more attractions.

Tourism is particularly sensitive to all political, social, and economic fluctuations. This year, two incidents brought about the slackening off of tourism in Poland, despite opinions to the contrary which predicted that the tourism season would be good. The first was Reagan's propaganda appeal calling for restraint in traveling to Europe because of the threat of terrorist attacks. Greece, as well as Italy (with 75 percent cancellation), and Spain. A second inexpedient phenomenon was Chernobyl, and associated with it the anxiety concerning travel to Poland. Approximately 35,000 tourists mostly from West Germany, United States, Holland, and Sweden cancelled tours to our country.

#### Hard Currency Losses

Hard currency losses totaled approximately 5.3 million dollars. Following the accident, action was taken very quickly by the Sports-Tourist Office. The Swiss Tourist Office director was immediately invited so that he could see the situation for himself. When given yogurt he declined politely, but he did eat the ice cream. He later telexed from the office and calmed his representatives down by saying that nothing serious was going on in Poland, and only lettuce had been withdrawn from sale. Several dozen groups did not arrive, while others arrived in much smaller numbers. Sports-Tourist

considered the matter of cancellations as very serious, reminding the western tourist bureaus that if groups cancelled 3 days before arrival, then participants would be held responsible for a portion of the costs, as per the agreement. For now this principle has not been applied.

The GKKFiT deals with figures concerning foreign travel for the entire nation. Director Robert Kepinski emphasizes that the number of tourists increases by 5 percent annually. He notes that "We must constantly fight the negative effects of Western propaganda. We invite the foreign tourist bureaus, we talk, we demonstrate our potential, and we convince them that our country is hospitable, safe, and no one will die of starvation without ration cards. During the best years (late 1970's) we earned approximately 130 million dollars from tourism. In 1985, revenues totaled 85 million dollars. Assumptions are that by 1990 we will be able to earn a maximum of 150 million dollars.

In 1984, 760,000 tourists from Western Europe visited Poland, of those 369,000 did so through tourist bureaus. In 1985 there were 790,000 with 374,000 through organized tours. West Germany is in first place in the volume of tourists (this is being noted in all the travel bureaus). Last year, 200,000 tourists on organized tours arrived from that country. The United States is in second place (30,000), then France (24,000), Scandinavia (20,000), and Holland (17,000).

Restoration of tourism with the socialist countries is proceeding slower. The GKKFiT does not expect that by 1990 tourism with these countries will be restored to the level of the 1970's. In 1984, 2,350,000 tourists arrived from socialist countries, and in 1985 there were 2,650,000. Here we noted a sizeable increase from the low, almost zero levels, but we are still not satisfied.

The PZMot [Polish Motorists' Union] served approximately 2,500 tourists in 1985 of which two-thirds were from capitalist countries, 1,400 in 1984 and 500 in 1983. The forecast for 1986 is 1,000 tourists from socialist countries, and 2,500 from capitalist nations; unfortunately, based on 1984 levels there will be fewer. At PZMot, among the socialist countries, Bulgaria is first, then Czechoslovakia, and East Germany. Other countries represented are in insignificant numbers. Among the Western European countries, West Germany, Holland, Belgium, and Austria predominate. PZMot director Henryk Lewicki notes that "Foreign partners focus attention, above all, on prices, and prices must correspond to the program." The tourist has an entire range of proposals and selects the most attractive. Tours organized by PZMot are poorly utilized, notes the director. Tourism by vehicle is very susceptible to jolts. Problems with the purchase of gasoline or food restrict the influx of tourist. This year was being predicted optimistically, there were 50 percent more reservations, and this shocked everyone.

#### Objective Complications

We will have to restore the exchange of tourists. This will not take just one season but again several years.

Michael Siwek, director of the Almature Foreign Department II, believes that Poland is not cheap (this opinion is also shared by western tourists). We do not have a developed moderate-level hotel base, and the WPT hotels are unprepared to accommodate western tourists. The expensive first-class Orbis hotels overestimate the costs of tours. In group calculations there are various reductions and in this way Almatur cuts down on the cost of tours. It has its own base which also allows it to lower costs, for example, accomodations at the International Student Hotel can be obtained for 400 zloty per person for a double room. Hard currency revenues in 1985 totaled \$700,000 and this equals 1980 figures. This year's revenues are being forecast at last year's levels.

Will Poland become a tourism-oriented country? Zbigniew Unger, director of the Orbis Congress Bureau, has determined that this is impossible until services on a suitable level are established and an attractive cultural program is guaranteed in the larger cities. A framed maxim hangs in his office, which says: the bitterness of poor services remains long after the sweetness of low prices. This is often the case with the Polish tourism industry.

The Congress Bureau has organized various conferences, symposia, international congresses, professional tours (architects, farmers, teachers, enthusiasts of narrow-gauge railways), as well as religious pilgrimages. The years 1980-1981 were the best because traditional tourism had already broken down, but through sheer momentum the congresses continued. The following years were very bad. This year was to have been better, however, it proved to be worse. Therefore, next year is being predicted as a record year, and the figures support this. There are more reservations than even during the late 1970's. Director Zbigniew Unger believes that we are not utilizing the Chopin tradition sufficiently. Of what consequence is one competition in 5 years. Director Unger has selected the most difficult month for tourism - November - and plans to organize a Chopin Week or a Chopin and Romanticism program in cooperation with the Culture Ministry. There will be concerts at Zelazowa Wola, at the Ostrogorski Palace, at Wilanow, at the Philharmonic, and in a natural setting as well as a concert setting. A representative of one of the French travel bureaus interested in the show is expected to arrive soon. Today, a traditional tour of Warsaw, Krakow, and Wieliczka will not draw the crowds. We must have attractive and unusual spectacles, but also those unique to our country. A 300-person group of Dutch tourists has been coming to the Mazury region during the month of February for the past 2 years, in order to participate in a one-day skating marathon on a frozen lake. Can there be anything better than hard currency guests in the Mazury during February, the off-season? They spent \$25,000 and they filled the otherwise empty Mrongovia hotel. An idea has matured at the Congress Bureau which concerns each year organizing an international winter marathon in the Mazury region, to include not only the Dutch.

Recently, an Interster office was established alongside the PZZ, which would organize sailing ships in the Mazury and on the Baltic for visiting tourists.

The Sports-Tourist Office purchased 10 Nesh-type yachts which are waiting in Gazycko for hard currency tourists. The Germans, Scandinavians, and even the British are interested in our sailing tours.

Our country has unexploited potential which could attract tourists.

#### What Do They Like About Poland?

They are delighted that we possess so much wilderness and tranquility that they can walk in the woods for half a day and not meet anyone else. They are attracted by our history, culture, monuments, and people, who in the eyes of the tourist are sincere, hospitable, and unselfish.

What frightens them? The first problem about which I hear in all the travel offices is concerning the terrible sanitary conditions beginning with the campgrounds, hotels, and even the better ones. Some brochures warn tourists to bring bathroom tissue with them to Poland, and to install bathrooms in their trailers. The tourist's life is made more difficult by the long lines and hours of waiting at the border crossings and the lack of good services. The irritable level of services, shortage of a hotel base, and of so-called snack bars in the larger cities. The dark and crowded Okecie airport restricts the arrivals of a majority of the tourists. Every year, repeated complaints are noted concerning the poor level of cultural entertainment in the larger cities, the lack of permanent folkloric shows; it is our folklore in particular which interests the foreign tourist.

This year the tourist bureaus were taken by surprise several times. The surprises were not advantageous to the stabilization of tourism. In April the prices were raised for hotel and meal plans, in June accommodation prices went through the ceiling and the tourist is now worrying what else unexpected may happen.

Currently, the deadline is expiring for the tourist bureaus to turn in their price offers to the foreign tourist bureaus. But our hotels still do not know what prices will be in effect next year. If one presents a proposal too late, then chances are slim that we will be able to make advantageous offers. What inspires the optimism evident in the Polish tourist offices, despite everything? Above all, it is the return of long-standing foreign tourist bureaus, and this has been duly noted by Sports-Tourist. They utilize traditional contacts with the Benelux countries and with Scandinavia. Other offices included, for example, the Congress Bureau has noticed a significant increase in interest in visiting Poland. Currently, the most important thing is not to be caught unawares, restore longstanding contacts, come up with ideas for attractive programs, and like Sports-Tourist has done, for example, invite foreign travel agents to Poland so that they will be convinced as to what the situation really looks like. Sometimes, it is pleasing to hear later on that the foreign tourist departed our country with a good impression even though he expected the worst.

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ECONOMY

POLAND

BRIGADE FORM OF WORK ORGANIZATION ADVOCATED

AU282045 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 23 Sep 86 p 3

[Sylwester Zawadzki article: "The Meaning of Partnership Brigades"]

[Excerpts] A solution to the Gordian knot of difficulties and impediments in which the Polish economy has become entangled calls for a wide range of actions to be undertaken. These include the restructuring of the economy, the restoration of financial equilibrium, job certification, and the regulation of the labor market.

However, although the 10th Congress adopted a clear-cut position on the matter, there is one course of activity on which little emphasis has been placed to date.

Speaking at the 10th PZPR Congress, W. Jaruzelski said: "The ally of job certification will be the brigade form of work organization, which is also known as the partnership group system. Self-managing brigades provide a constant pressure from below for improvement, greater labor discipline, and better work results."

At the same time, one should not overlook the difficulties that the introduction of this system may encounter. One cannot count on its automatic acceptance and introduction. Many workers fear that work norms will be raised soon after the system's introduction. Some management teams fear the emergence of serious difficulties connected with the need to improve the organization of production processes and the supply of materials. Some administrative staff fear that they will not benefit from the advantages that the system's introduction will bring to workers. The example of the "Swieczewski" plant shows that these problems can be surmounted.

Experience shows that when the brigade contract system is introduced, production plan requirements are completed more quickly and employees' earnings increase and that labor productivity rises far more quickly, absenteeism falls significantly, and cadre departures decline. Enterprises that experiment are also able to create incentive mechanism that encourage engineering, technical, and administrative staff to develop the brigade contract system. In many cases, the pressure that brigades exert from below becomes an effective means for overcoming bottlenecks, such as irregular supplies of materials.

It would seem that the hitherto sporadic organization of partnership brigades ought to be transformed into a social movement that draws support and inspiration from the party. The movement ought to develop on a voluntary basis. All the necessary conditions exist for this to happen: a poll conducted by the Center for Public Opinion Research shows that 61 percent of workers approve of the principles on which the brigade contract system is based.

Further progress in this direction will mark an important step forward in the socialization of production processes and the creation of material and ethничal incentives for raising labor productivity. This will create a far better opportunity for combining the interests of the worker and the brigade with those of society as a whole.

There is much evidence to show that the introduction of the system could create a social movement that would aid the attainment of the most important economic goals while at the same time significantly enhancing socialist democracy in enterprises. It may be a step that will ensure "a rapid shift toward consistent, productive, efficient, and modern work," work of a kind that Poland greatly requires.

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CSO: 2600/54

ECONOMY

POLAND

BRIEFS

ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH DPRK--Warsaw, 25 Sep--Machinery and equipment and also some raw materials have had the biggest share in Poland's deliveries to the DPRK market. In the last few years, Poland has also been selling equipment for hard coal mining and metallurgy, ship equipment, engine spares, medical and optical equipment and also coke and sulphur. Roast magnesite, talc, zinc, flourite, lead, graphite, steel sheet, Chinaware and footware are among raw materials and products imported by Poland from the DPRK. A five-year agreement signed last year between the two countries provides for mutual turnovers at close to 443 million roubles, including 215 million roubles worth of Poland's exports to the DPRK, an 80 percent growth in comparison to the previous quinquennium. Poland is also going to provide assistance in the development of a coal basin in the DPRK and modernization of a rail cars plant. Cooperation has been established in the aviation industry. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1423 GMT 25 Sep 86 LD] /9274

FISCAL ACCORDS WITH ITALY--On 19 September Poland and Italy signed two accords in Rome on rescheduling a part of the Polish debt due to be repaid in 1982-1984 and 1985. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20-21 Sep 86 p 7 AU] /9274

NEW FINANCE UNDERSECRETARY--On the recommendation of the minister of finance, the chairman of the Council of Ministers recalled Witold Bien from the post of under secretary of state in this ministry and appointed to this position Andrzej Dorosz, previously under secretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Trade. [Excerpt] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13-14 Sep 86 p 2 AU] /9274

CEMA COAL ACCORD--Representatives of coal industries of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, and the Soviet Union had adopted, and signed a program of cooperation in coal mining construction up to year 2000. The program contains 12 themes, nine of which will be realized in multilateral cooperation. The program was signed at the 3-day meeting of coal mining construction experts of the CEMA states held in Wisla. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 3 Oct 86 LD] /9274

COOPERATION IN SUBWAY CONSTRUCTION--An agreement has been signed in Warsaw between the Czechoslovak Dopravny Podnik technical enterprise and the Polish General Management for Construction of the Warsaw Subway concerning long-term cooperation in building this subway. The agreement calls for consultations on technical problems, supplies of construction machinery and equipment for the Warsaw subway, access to technological documentation, and the training of subway technical staff in Prague. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Aug 86 pp 1, 5 AU] /9274

CRANE VESSELS FOR USSR--With the delivery of a ship called "Atlet" to the ship-owner, the Gdansk shipyard has completed the construction of nine crane vessels for the USSR. Crane vessels are ships used to service sea drilling platforms and are equipped with 40-metric ton cranes. The shipyard is getting ready to launch the construction of another improved series of this type of ship. [Text] [Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 6 Oct 86 LD] /9274

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ECONOMY

YUGOSLAVIA

BELGRADE PROFESSOR ON NEED TO CENTRALIZE TAX SYSTEM

Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 20-22 Sep 86 p 3

[Interview with Prof Dejan Popovic of the Belgrade Law Faculty by Drago Brdar: "Unified Market--Unified Tax Treatment"; date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] In the current discussions of the tax system and policy, numerous difficulties are associated with how the economy should be taxed. Organizations are now paying a tax on the income earned, to which various contributions are added from the income whose effect on the economic position of enterprises is more significant. The originality of this system is manifold, especially in the negative consequences that it produces. For example, the tax system regularly and generously fills the coffers of sociopolitical communities regardless of the creditworthiness of the economy's OURs [organizations of associated labor] and the incomes earned by citizens. A particularly negative effect is caused by the federation's exclusion from direct taxation of the economy, which makes the entire tax system almost completely uncoordinated. Special mention of the kind of obstacles to a unified economy policy that result from this is unnecessary.

We spoke about the characteristics of the present system for taxation of the economy, as well as possible changes in this regard, with Dr Dejan Popovic, a regular professor at the Law Faculty in Belgrade and the author of a recently published study on the "Taxation of the Income of Organizations of Associated Labor."

[Popovic] First of all, it should be stated that in all federal states based on the concept of a unified market, the tax system and policy are vital components of this unity. Unfortunately, that is not the case in Yugoslav conditions. In contrast to these states, our Constitution provided that the federation's powers to achieve a unified market are primarily expressed in the area of credit-monetary policy and customs, while with respect to the tax system and policy its jurisdiction is quite reduced. In this connection, I am thinking above all of the fact that except for the turnover tax and customs, the federation has virtually no fiscal revenues of its own.

For the Federal Taxation of Income

The situation is such that only part of the indirect taxes are under the jurisdiction of the federation, while all the rest are the property of republics, provinces, and opstinas. On the other hand, a significant part of the public financing system, the sector of joint expenditure, is separated from the tax system into a separate subsystem in which the fragmentation is even greater. There decisions are made through 8,000 self-managing interest communities, so that we could say of the Yugoslav fiscal system that it is both decentralized and fragmented, divided. In practice, it is manifested primarily through its fiscal function, the function of collecting funds for the needs of the budget and the self-managing interest communities. The economic, social, and other functions of fiscal policy are completely neglected. It is not even possible to achieve these other goals through such an uncoordinated mechanism.

[Question] The system for taxation of the income of organizations of associated labor is subject to the same principles. What is this part of the tax system like in practice?

[Answer] Income is one of the vital components of the self-managing socialist system, but with respect to tax collection it is removed from the jurisdiction of the federation. The taxation of income is left to the republics and provinces, and a multitude of contributions from income are added to this. The fiscal burden on income from contributions is more significant, since its volume is considerably higher than taxes, as much as six times higher. I advocate surmounting this situation by introducing a federal tax on the income of organizations. The question, however, is whether there is any willingness for this in the republics and provinces, which would obviously have to be deprived of part of their fiscal sovereignty in favor of the federation. In other words, it is necessary to carry out a certain constitutional reform and stipulate that direct taxes can also be within the competence of the federation. Such a solution is natural, because of the significance of income as a category throughout the entire Yugoslav market.

It is necessary, however, for the entire system of contributions, which is beyond the jurisdiction of state regulation, to be identical to the system for the taxation of income. In practice, this would mean that tax relief, if it is given to some enterprise, would automatically apply to contributions as well. It is absurd to say that a certain industry or enterprise is being stimulated through tax incentives under conditions in which the tax obligation is only equal to a sixth of the obligation in the form of contributions.

#### Avoiding Double Taxation

[Question] Your study covers in particular the effects of the present tax system, to which only moderate attention has otherwise been given to date. What effects should be emphasized in particular?

[Answer] First of all, naturally, one should point out the great differences in the fiscal burden on income among individual republics and provinces, as well as between individual industries. The fact is that the republics or provinces whose economy is more developed have proportionately taxed income more heavily, while the less developed ones relied on the taxation of personal

incomes as a factor in production. It follows from this that in order to measure the real effects of taxes that affect income, it is also necessary to take into account the taxes and contributions that affect personal incomes, because they are an integral part of income. Not enough attention has been given either among the Yugoslav expert public or in practice to the fact that there is a double taxation of income. It is clear, however, that the dual burden on personal incomes affects labor-intensive industries and organizations of associated labor more, since the proportion of personal salaries in their income, as the labor factor, is higher.

It is also clear from this why the underdeveloped republics and provinces will rely more upon taxation of the labor factor. These are areas that are rich in a labor force, but the income in them is relatively low for satisfying the needs of the budgets of the sociopolitical communities and for the self-managing interest communities. Under these conditions personal income is a safer, more reliable, and more abundant source for taxation than income.

#### Significant Relief

I advocate having the average amount of personal incomes, the gross incomes paid, deducted from the base when income is taxed, and having the same thing apply to the contributions that are paid from income. This would reduce the burden on the base income and would make possible serious relief for economic organizations, but would not rule out the simultaneous taxation of both income and personal incomes, since one must ensure that the republics and provinces whose incomes are relatively modest obtain fiscal revenue. Naturally, this kind of relief would have to be applied uniformly throughout the entire country.

[Question] The existing diversity in the tax system is permitting significant redistributions among the republics and provinces, as well as between individual economic branches and groups. What kind of results have you arrived at?

[Answer] I tried, for example in 1984, to show exactly what the redistributive effects of taxes and contributions from income were, since there are great differences in the definition of the base and in the tax rates among the republics and provinces, and since individual branches are taxed differently. The fact is that income is taxed more than average in Serbia proper, Croatia, and Slovenia, and that it is taxed less than average in the less developed federal units. When one looks at individual branches and fields, those most affected by income tax are financial services, trade, water management, construction, handicrafts, forestry, and housing-communal activities. Industry and mining, agriculture and fishing, the hotel industry and tourism, education, science, and culture are taxed less than average. Finally, health care and social security have the most favorable treatment. All of this naturally also has regional aspects.

If one also takes contributions into account, it can then be said that the fiscal burden on income is highest in water management and financial and other services, while agriculture and education, science, and culture are in the most privileged position.

## Paradoxical Effects

The tax burdens have different effects with respect to the economic strength of economic entities. Using two branches as an example--the production of electrical machinery and equipment, and the production of finished textile products--of which the former is capital-intensive and the latter is labor-intensive, one can see the relationship of the amount of the tax burden to economic strength. The fact is that the tax burden on income in the first branch is 0.75 percent, and in the second, 0.63 percent. The capital-intensive branch is thus correspondingly more affected. If one also takes into account contributions and all other deductions from income, then the first branch's burden is 10 percent, and the second branch's is 12.1. This means that the burden on the labor-intensive branch is higher. From the standpoint of employment policy, such fiscal burden effects are not good, because we do not have enough capital, in contrast to the labor force. Fiscal policy is making what we have a surplus of more expensive, which is a kind of paradox.

## Fundamental Instrument of Development

[Question] You claim that the possibilities for taxing income as an instrument of economic policy have not been utilized. What are these possibilities?

[Answer] In the modern world, taxation of the profits of corporations is considered to be one of the most significant instruments for achieving numerous economic results. By giving tax breaks, the state conducts a selective policy, encourages the development of priority branches, industries, and fields, and discourages activities that should not be developed. Little thought is given to giving tax breaks under our conditions, because intervention in the economy is identified with direct public outlays (grants, subsidies, etc.). The same result could also be achieved through so-called tax outlays--various breaks of a selective nature. The tax on the income of OURs [organizations of associated labor] could thus become a more significant instrument for carrying out the function of development.

The way that the state can stimulate development is also shown by the example of the preferential treatment for accelerated depreciation. In most modern economies, it is possible for taxpayers to use accelerated depreciation, i.e. not to follow a linear formula, but instead to write off depreciation higher than average during the first years of the write-off period, and in this way to reduce the age of their fixed capital. This gives taxpayers a significant break, since the accelerated write-off is done at the expense of profits. Under Yugoslav conditions this possibility could also be used for healthy economic growth and healthy investment activity, because organizations would be interested in allocating more for depreciation.

There are also possibilities for the selective treatment of individual organizations or branches. There is a desire to achieve this in Yugoslavia through a differentiation of tax rates or through the exemption of individual groups or branches from taxation, but this often loses the development aspect,

because the OUR is not obliged to use these funds for its development. For that reason, the most effect instrument for tax breaks would probably be the so-called investment tax credit. An OUR would have to calculate the appropriate amount of the tax, but would not have to pay it into the state treasury, and would instead allocate it for expansion of the material base for labor.

The "Intermediate Solution"

[Question] Under the present circumstances, your claim that reducing tax rates would yield significant stabilization results is very interesting. How?

[Answer] Here as well, I must first mention that tax breaks alone, without adequate ones in contributions, do not lead to any stabilization results. It is very important to ensure the stability of the tax base, to ensure that it does not change. Under the present conditions, it is possible that the tax rates may be reduced but the base increased, or vice versa. If one ensures a constant tax base, than one can expect that a change in tax rates will ensure a reduction or increase in tax revenues or burdens. Possibilities are then created for reducing the burden on the economy by reducing tax rates, and for achieving corresponding stabilization results. It is good that the legislator has provided for differentiated tax rates, so that branches of the economy can be treated differently. If an agreement is reached on the uniform taxation of income for the entire country, then a result would be achieved in the unified Yugoslav market, through the selective taxation of branches for which priority treatment has been agreed upon.

[Question] In the current discussions of changes in the tax system, disputes are being conducted again about whether it is better to tax enterprises' income or profit. Your book systematically presents the arguments in favor and the weakness of both solutions. You propose an "intermediate solution." What does it consist of?

[Answer] In regard to the establishment of the tax base, to a considerable extent a technical question, it is necessary to avoid the ideological implications entailed by the discussion of income versus profit. In approaching this issue, one should primarily take into account the practical, economic, and financial results. When the contractual and legal obligations are deducted from income, net income is left, and when personal incomes are taken out of that, the profit remains. If I support net income as the base for this tax, and furthermore deducting gross personal incomes and thus eliminating the problem of double taxation that I have already discussed, then there is essentially no dilemma: the amount left over after contractual and legal obligations are subtracted from income and after the personal incomes paid are taken out to the highest possible extent is an amount that is approximately equal to profit. It is merely a question of some accounting nuances. The essential thing is to find the amount that will be most suitable for financial and economic reasons.

Radical Changes the Only Way Out

[Question] The tax system as it is is a faithful picture of the overall system. The changes that you advocate would change the existing structure and distribution of economic power. At the beginning of this conversation, you said that the federal units would have to give up some of their fiscal sovereignty in favor of the federation. What specifically would such a change in the position of the republics and provinces bring?

[Answer] The fiscal system is a faithful reflection of the state of the socioeconomic system. It is therefore unjust to blame the fiscal system for the present difficulties. It only indicates that the causes of the disruptions are deeper.

The way out is the one that was offered in the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program, even though considerable time has passed since its adoption and even though some things should be resolved differently to some extent. Radical changes in the existing balance of forces, and also in the distribution of political power, are needed. There is consequently room here for increasing the economy's economic power.

With respect to the tax system, even if the existence of numerous contributions is ignored, it has its limits and one cannot go beyond them without radical changes. The changes cannot be painless, because the republics and provinces have to give up their control over a significant portion of the income of associated labor. The loss of fiscal revenues from taxes on the income of OURs could be compensated for by changes in the share of the federal units in the distribution of revenue from the basic turnover tax or in some other way. In the event that the resistance to "expanding the jurisdiction of the federation" cannot be overcome, the solution would be to keep the republic and provincial taxes on the income of OURs, but through the mechanism of joint taxation, or centralized dual jurisdiction. This solution is worse than instituting a federal income tax, but is nevertheless more acceptable than the present situation.

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MILITARY

YUGOSLAVIA

LIFE ABOARD NAVY SUBMARINE DESCRIBED

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 14 Sep 86 pp 10-11

[Article by Vladimir Drobnjak: "Aboard the Sava Under the Sea--A Reporter's Visit"]

[Text] The long, dark shadow slowly pushed away from the shore, sliding through the motionless water of the navy port. We left from Split for Dubrovnik on board the Sava at exactly four in the morning.

The Sava is a medium-class diesel-electric submarine, a steel tube about 50 meters long with kilometers of cables and wires, tons of the most modern electronic and other equipment, motors, torpedoes, mines, and about 30 submariners packed into it. There is room for all of this, exactly as much as necessary. In fact, the Sava is a real master-work by the builder--a reliable, deadly weapon in trained hands. The Sava is also, however, a separate world governed by separate submarine rules, and inhabited by people who literally keep company with the depths of the sea.

Another half hour is left before dawn. From the narrow bridge of the submarine, which appears even smaller in the darkness, echo brief routine commands to the pilot, who sits about 10 meters below in the bowels of the Sava. The submariners know every part of these waters by heart, every flicker of the lighthouses and the dark outlines of the coast. Distant brilliant Sirius is directly ahead of us, "on the bow." The even more brilliant lights of sleeping Split are still on the left. In the broad port, the Sava moves toward the south. Officer Josip Hrvatin (born in Labin), our host on the submarine trip, tells us the basic facts about the Sava.

"Sava-831 was built in our shipyard, and 75 percent of the equipment on it is the work of our people. Otherwise, it is 56 meters long with a displacement of 960 tons; its surface speed is 11 knots, and its underwater speed is 17. Its armament consists of 6 torpedo tubes, and if necessary, mines. It can dive to a depth of 300 meters, and with its technical characteristics and technological solutions it is one of the most modern submarines in its class."

Precious Centimeters

The dawn finds us at Split's door, where Solta and Brac are in reach. Under the first rays of the sun, we can finally get a clear picture of the Sava's exterior. Just a few moments ago it was a long dark shadow, but now it is a slender, spindle-shaped sea "machine." There are no metal plates anywhere on the submarine; the Sava is coated with plastic armor that conceals the "real" metal cylindrical hull. Above the narrow deck, there is a tower with a command bridge at the top. There is room for 2-3 submariners on the bridge. The rest is occupied by antennas, radar couches, a periscope, and a "snorkel" (a special device that allows the submarine to sail underwater for days without surfacing, ?OP.P.).

While there is little room on the Sava, there is even less inside it. Literally every centimeter there is efficiently used. Old submariners say that in previous years it was more comfortable and more pleasant to stay in the interior of a submarine. As time passed and technology advanced, however, submarines in Sava's class became increasingly smaller, while so much of this had to be located in them--both weapons and electronic equipment, a real forest of the sensitive instruments that are the submarine's eyes and ears, and also two powerful diesel motors, electrically powered machines, food, water, and a multitude of large and small things without which sailing in a submarine would be inconceivable. There is thus very little room left for the crew.

The submariners' narrow beds are jammed in among pipes, instruments, bars, cables, lids, openings, and levers. There are fewer of them than there are members of the crew, since at every moment one shift is on duty. The other two are resting. Every four hours, the beds receive new guests, with the exception of the commander's. The submarine commander is the only one to rest in it, and this is one of the rare privileges of the commander compared to the rest of the crew members. A radar screen is located next to the head of his bed. At the foot of it, there is a tangle of hydraulic pipes. Thus, everywhere on the Sava, every object has its own precisely calculated function. Everything here is very carefully measured, both objects and centimeters--and people as well, since not everyone can be a submariner.

It is well known that submariners have to undergo several thorough physical examinations before they get the green light for sailing in a submarine. In addition to an irreproachable physical condition, however, a special psychological stability is also necessary. Submariners are people of an unusual stamp, linked by the invisible threads of a subtle and unbreakable comradeship forged during long months at sea, in a world whose boundaries are only a few meters apart, while for kilometers around there is nothing but the sea. It is even overhead. If they were not like that, they would not have anything to seek here. Submariners are not like other people, and they themselves are aware of this. Why, in general, does one become a submariner?

#### Between the Indicator Lights

"Every one of us had his reasons, but now that is no longer important," says Slobodan Jelic, the commander of the Sava. "The most important thing is that we all like this profession. It is only with a great deal of love and self-denial that one can meet the challenges of this profession from year to year.

It is not easy; we are at sea for months, and we do not surface for days, remaining in the depths without television, without entertainment--we do not even know what the weather is like outside. This submarine life of ours also has its charms, however, and a comradeship that you rarely find anywhere else."

Slobodan Jelic, who describes himself as a "Bosnian from Sibenik," has been sailing on submarines for 14 years now. Officer Ivan Strelec, a 46-year-old man from Cakovec, has served on submarines for 7 years more than his commander. Strelec, a fine pilot, says that he has been exhausted all through those years. The equipment is more and more complex, and swallows people up, leaving them less and less space.

The working post of the pilot is not the ship's helm that we are used to. The Sava's pilot's panel is more like the pilot's cabin in a fighter jet than the place from which a submarine is steered. It is a seat surrounded by numerous measuring instruments, indicator lights, levers, and controls, a place where commands are received from the bridge (through a special voice tube) and immediately carried out. The steering equipment is of Yugoslav manufacture, and the submariners stress that its creators did a job deserving full praise. The fully automated equipment replaces three crewmen, and makes maximum use of the Sava's maritime capabilities.

Officer Vojislav Rapajic, from Belgrade, the commander of the electricians' section, shows us the interior of the submarine. The heart of the Sava is the "headquarters," the central part of the submarine containing the steering equipment, the navigation table, the radar, several beds (including the commander's), and the "trim panel"-- the key submarine equipment. This is a control system for diving and the underwater steering of the submarine, for which officer Pavle Srdic, who has served longest on the Sava, is responsible. Everyone on the submarine has a precisely specified duty, and everyone knows that mistakes at a depth of more than 200 meters are not forgiven, and that therefore everyone has to do his part of the work as well as possible, not just for his own sake, but because his comrades depend upon him. On a submarine, everyone is linked by a thin thread of mutual dependence.

#### The Cook Is an "Auto Mechanic"

It is difficult to believe that all of this can fit into the 10 or so square meters of the "headquarters." At one end are the red lids of the torpedo tubes. Between them are two beds, one above the other. Officer Radomir Dosljak, from Ivangrad, who is the commander of the submarine's combat weaponry, is resting on one of them. Four years of submarine service are enough to get used to this unusual underwater life. Why did he decide to become a submariner? It was at the end of his training at the Naval Academy, when he was attracted by the mysterious danger of this profession. This profession was also a great mysterious challenge for Vladan Ljubinkovic of Loznica, who recently substituted the submarine for the Academy's benches; and he is thus now on the Sava.

Two paths lead from the "headquarters." One goes vertically upward, through the tower toward the deck and the command bridge. The other leads to the

engine room, where it is difficult to endure the roar of the two diesel motors without protective earplugs. The path then leads us to the control panel where officer Velimir Jakovljevic (from Sapac) is carefully monitoring the operation of the motors with the aid of measuring instruments. Jakovljevic recently came to the Sava and does not conceal the fact that he was also attracted by certain benefits that submariners have (for example, priority in the allocation of apartments, as well as the 6-month tour of duty with benefits), but he comments that the crucial thing for every submariner, regardless of his submarine service, is his love for that profession, and the desire to meet the challenges of an unusual and dangerous occupation.

At the stern of the submarine, among the auxiliary steering equipment, beds, boxes of provisions, and tools, there is also a handy kitchen. People do not cook here as on other ships. They only heat up canned food. That is why they call the cook an auto mechanic. Everything is in cans--breakfast, lunch, and supper. Even the apple juice is canned.

"And we are canned too," Vojislav Rapajic adds.

The "auto mechanic" on the Sava is seaman Milan Jurisic from Banja Luka, one of a few soldier-seamen who are performing their military service on the submarine. They are all volunteers (like all members of the Sava's crew), and although the backbone of the submarine's crew consists of officers, these seamen also make their own contribution to having the rather sensitive submarine mechanism tick without stopping. Seamen Zeljko Jelinic from Split, Dragan Sokolovic from Pula, and Zlatan Casar from Srebrenica say that they are already used to the Sava. They admit that it is not easy at first, but it is not as terrible as many people think. What attracted them here? Above all, the uniqueness of a profession that is truly for a select few, and here there is also an additional 10 days of the "usual." The submarine is a real adventure, and they could not remain indifferent.

#### Circle of Comrades

All of the seamen emphasize together that the officers immediately included them in their circle of comrades, sharing both the good and the bad with them during the long days at sea--literally, since here it is the same for everyone, both seaman and officer. They share absolutely the same food, the same bed, the same sea, and the same 10 square meters of living space. In the submarine, you will find taciturn seriousness, concentration on one's own duty, and the precise and cold-blooded completion of one's job, but you will not find harsh military discipline. It is not necessary, and it is out of place here.

The sun is high in the sky. The Sava is now sailing along the Peljesac channel, accompanied by an excited school of dolphins. We will meet them again several hours later, in front of the shore of Sipan island. Dolphins are old acquaintances of the submariners. A box of sardines is opened especially for them and the guests are given a treat. On beautiful days like this one, when the submarine has no orders to dive, the crew members who are not on duty usually go out onto the deck to stretch their legs and light cigarettes. Smoking inside the submarine is not allowed, of course. It is

therefore not difficult to conclude what several days of underwater travel are like for dedicated smokers. Before a dive, submariners throw out all open boxes of cigarettes. They say that this is because they do not have the same taste anymore after surfacing, and that during underwater travel the cigarettes become different, with a harsh taste. Life under water is thus not even pleasant for things. Submariners do not regret anything, however. They know well what they have chosen for a profession, and they do not talk much about it, but one can sense everywhere on the submarine the certain steadfast firmness of people who are doing a job that few people are capable of doing.

The Sava sails along the coast of Korcula and Peljesac, attracting the attention of tourists and fishermen. JRM [Yugoslav Navy] ships are eagerly seen guests throughout the Adriatic, but submarines always arouse the most attention. There are not, however, many sunny days like this, when traveling on the Sava is more like an outing for these experienced old salts. Officer Milorad Vejin, from Apatin, the assistant commander of the submarine, says that on stormy winter days sailing on the surface is a real torture; the submarine sways so much that one can grab a handful of the sea from the bridge. In his eight years of sailing on a submarine, Vejin has undergone many such tempests. They have become accustomed to all kinds of seas. They try to get used to constant changes in temperature and pressure, and to high humidity, which leaves colds and lumbago behind it. All of this, however, is an integral part of the job.

#### Always the Same Smells

Officer Ivica Mandic, from Listica, the commander of the navigation and communication section, shows us many details that are incomprehensible to a layman. Among them are the sonar device with which the submarine can detect any ship within a radius of about 30 kilometers. There are also numerous devices that serve as the submarine's eyes and ears, making it a deadly enemy that lies in wait in the dark depths. In order for all of this machinery to be coordinated and brought into a faultless rhythm, it is necessary for everyone on the Sava to do his part of the work faultlessly. The submariners therefore say that they are alert even when they sleep. This is a profession in which there is simply no relaxation.

In the submarine, there is always a smell of oil, gasoline, seamen's soup, and long days of staying underwater, and there is always the same lighting. Inside the Sava, it is easy to confuse the concepts of "day" and "night." At every step we notice a depth finder and a clock. Every member of the crew thus always knows what depth the submarine is at. And the time? It passes slowly here, but sometimes seconds count, and thus the meters and minutes replace windows, television, and other things.

Submariners are used to measuring everything well before they use it. Everything is conserved here, both water and words. Every year, in winter, the submariners leave for a 10-day winter visit to Jahorina, Sara, and Bled.

"You should see us then," says Zeljko Popovic, from Kostanjica, the chief electrician on the submarine. "We relax then, and forget about the sea. But even then we are all together. This is our life, and it is something special.

We all have families and children, but in the end it turns out that we are usually with each other and with the submarine."

Our trip on the Sava is nearing its end. We can already see the cranes at the Dubrovnik port. The beautiful Galeb, accompanied by two missile gunboats, passes near us. There is a sharp whistle on the deck, and a military salute to the ships passing near us. The submariners smile as they watch the foam thrown up by the powerful propellers of the gunboats. Compared to them, the Sava is creeping along at a snail's pace, but the Sava can do a great deal that even the gunboats cannot do. The submariners joke that the whole fleet can sink, but which of them can surface again?

There are a lot of sailors' stories. Those about submarines are different from the rest, and somehow unique--firm, courageous, and proud, like the submariners themselves. If they were not like that, they would not be traveling through the depths of the sea.

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POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DAILY COMMENTS ON REAGAN-GORBACHEV MEETING

AU151600 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 14 Oct 86 p 1

[Editorial: "Wasted Opportunity"]

[Text] After long hours of dogged, and even dramatic deliberations between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan in Reykjavik, the 2-day meeting ended without any agreement. The American side thwarted a historic opportunity, although, as Mikhail Gorbachev stressed at a press conference held immediately after the conclusion of the talks, the standpoints of the two sides have never before been so close to an agreement on the limitation of nuclear weapons as now. The main task of that meeting was the cardinal issue of the present: halting the feverish arms buildup on earth and averting it in outer space.

The Soviet Union prepared itself well for the historic test in Reykjavik. This meeting was not to be a substitute for Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the United States, on which the two leading representatives agreed 11 months ago in Geneva. It was assumed that a working meeting would be held in Reykjavik, at which one would assess the situation in the bilateral relations between the Soviet Union and the United States and, in particular, that it would yield stimuli and instructions for achieving progress on the fundamental disarmament issues discussed by the USSR and U.S. delegations in Geneva.

The world expected that in the current strained situation the leading USSR and U.S. representatives would agree on key issues with the aim of easing tension. The nations of the world realize that a nuclear war would lead to the extinction of human civilization and therefore they demand that this danger be eliminated. Guided by a feeling of great responsibility for the fate of mankind, the Soviet Union proposed the meeting in Reykjavik. The American side accepted the proposal for the meeting, and it seemed that it was ready to conduct constructive talks, but it did not confirm this impression at Reykjavik.

Significant obligations have arisen for the two sides from the Soviet-American summit meeting in Geneva. Their joint statement said that nuclear war must never materialize and that there can be no victor in it. The two sides also held an identical view regarding neither of the sides

striving to achieve military superiority over the other. The Soviet Union has been consistently observing these pledges and, moreover, presenting new concrete initiatives. For example, the world highly valued its unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests. At the beginning of this year it submitted a plan on a gradual scrapping of nuclear weapons by the end of the century. All this is tangible evidence of the Soviet Union's faithfulness to its pledges as well as to its great responsibility for the fate of the world. But other new initiatives of the socialist states also came into being in the period between Geneva and Reykjavik. The session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member-states adopted the Appeal for a Universal Reduction of Armed Forces in Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals.

These initiatives remained without a response on the part of the United States and its NATO allies, however. They did not halt the arms buildup; on the contrary, they are determined to spread it into outer space. The political and military consequences of such a development are unforeseeable. One has to erect a barrier to tendencies leading to a catastrophic future.

Mikhail Gorbachev had good intentions in Reykjavik: to halt these tendencies; and he came to the meeting with Ronald Reagan with an entire packet of bilaterally acceptable proposals. Did not, perhaps, President Reagan say several times that he favors the reduction of strategic weapons? At the negotiating table in Reykjavik there was a Soviet proposal for a 50-percent reduction of all strategic weapons and the prospect of their complete scrapping by the year 2000--indeed, of the reduction of all strategic weapons within the framework of the entire so-called triad: on land, submarines, and bombers. This is an unusually significant concession by the Soviet Union, which is aware that courageous steps are necessary.

With another of its proposals--removing Soviet and American intermediate-range missiles from Europe regardless of the nuclear potentials of Great Britain and France--the Soviet Union actually acceded to the American proposal, to completely scrap American and Soviet intermediate-range missiles in Europe. This "zero" option used to be President Reagan's favorite theme, but in Reykjavik he remained "cool" toward it, although it would have to be the Soviet Union again that would have to make a non-negligible concession in view of the existing British and French nuclear devices which are, without a doubt, a part of NATO armament.

Up to here one could say that the talks were leading to an agreement. But as soon as they arrived at the issue of antimissile defense, the discussion broke down because the American side rejected any restriction of its so-called Strategic Defense Initiative. On this point, it fully exposed its "chronic disease"--the endeavor to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union. It proceeded with a strange logic: It would accede to a certain limitation of nuclear tests, strategic weapons, and nuclear intermediate-range missiles, but the "Strategic Defense Initiative" is taboo. According to this logic there would necessarily have to occur contradictory processes. On the one hand, one would limit nuclear weapons,

and on the other hand, the United States would be developing and later realizing a new weapon, which would be decisive from the military-strategic point of view. Only a madman would assent to an agreement which would give the United States such an advantage. At a press conference, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed regarding this issue that as far as the military aspect of the matter is concerned, the Soviet Union would find a response to the American plans of an arms buildup in outer space, but one could not explain this politically to the world public. The nations expect the leading representatives of the two biggest powers to strive in their talks for reducing weapons and relaxing tension, but in reality the demand of the American side constitutes a shift of the feverish arms buildup into outer space. Does the American side know what the world would think about such a development?

The Soviet side proposed that agreements on antimissile defense be observed for at least 10 more years. That space weapons, whose development should end in laboratories, not be deployed. President Reagan insisted that the United States has the right to develop and test everything that is connected with the "Strategic Defense Initiative." There is only one explanation: These are attempts to "convince" the Soviet Union voluntarily to put a noose around its neck and get on a stool which the United States could kick from under its feet, or to launch a new round of the arms buildup which would completely get out of control and drag the world toward destruction. Both these things might suit the American Administration, but they do not at all suit the Soviet Union, whose foreign policy is on principle oriented toward the peaceful coexistence of nations in this world, without any threats of war.

This also is the answer to some Western journalists, who asked Mikhail Gorbachev at the press conference why the Soviet Union did not accede to at least a partial agreement on the limitation of strategic weapons. What sense would an agreement on the limitation of strategic weapons on earth have, when the United States would be building strategic weapons in outer space? After all, a third of Washington's methods is also known, built on the calculation that maintaining a feverish arms buildup will exhaust the Soviet Union economically, because it will prevent it from shifting capacities to fulfilling the plans of the society's socioeconomic development. Life has already affirmed that all these calculations are wrong, that they do not have the anticipated effect. They harm and threaten all nations, including the American people.

Despite the fact that Reykjavik has not yielded concrete results, the Soviet Union remains firm in its determination to continue its efforts to safeguard peace and avert the threat of nuclear war. Comrade Gorbachev also mentioned the meeting's positive moments. He expressed the conviction that the dialogue will continue, that today, after Reykjavik, this is even more urgent than in the past. An agreement is possible; the Soviet Union and the United States must work their way toward it. The United States will inevitably crystallize its opinion. It is possible that President Reagan needs, as Comrade Gorbachev noted at the press conference, to

consult the Congress on the Soviet proposals, or representatives of the military-industrial complex in the United States, which has a considerable influence on Washington's foreign policy. And last, but not least, it would be good also to ask the American people for their opinion, which should be decisive for the American Administration.

In the United States, in the countries of its allies, and in the developing countries, there is an increasing spread of a public opinion which favors talks with the Soviet Union, talks leading to a total ban of nuclear tests and to disarmament agreements. The American people should be informed that the Soviet Union came to Reykjavik with a packet of constructive proposals, while its partner came with empty hands, that it hesitatingly admitted the possibility of an agreement in certain details, but on the whole--in fact--it rejected an agreement. Had the complex of Soviet proposals been accepted, one could immediately begin eliminating the threat of nuclear war.

Reykjavik has shown that the activation of peace forces has to be stepped up even more and without delay in all countries of the world. Peace is a common property and must also be safeguarded by all. The international public must let it be clearly known that today there is no other road but peaceful coexistence without nuclear and space weapons.

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POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRATISLAVA ASSESSES DIRECTION OF SOVIET-PRC TIES

LD060945 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 0600 GMT 6 Oct 86

[Talk by Editor Jozef Knizat and Moscow correspondent Stefan Babiak]

[Text] [Knizat] It is clear that pushing the demand for comprehensive security concerns all and that it goes decidedly beyond the mere framework of Soviet-U.S. relations. In any case it is precisely the nuclear powers which carry a special responsibility. The PRC is one of the five-member nuclear club, and it is necessary to stress in this connection that the Soviet Union and the PRC alone have pledged not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Such a harmonious attitude is extremely important. The complex of mutual Soviet-PRC relations and the seeking of further areas of joint interests is the subject of joint political consultations, the ninth round of which is beginning in Beijing today. Stefan Babiak, our resident Moscow correspondent, has more details:

[Babiak--in Czech] A delegation headed by a special Soviet government envoy, Igor Rogachev, deputy minister of foreign affairs, has left Moscow for Beijing. The current round of Soviet-PRC political talks has undoubtedly a deeper context than ever before. The reason is clear. The far-reaching proposals put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev in his speech in Vladivostok are on the negotiation table. From them it emerges that the Soviet Union is ready to discuss with the PRC a broad range of steps aimed at creating good neighborly relations; it proposes a large number of confidence-building measures; it is interested in developing political dialogue as dynamically as economic cooperation.

As the recent visit by Nikolay Talyzin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, confirmed the initiatives made in Vladivostok has been received with considerable interest in Beijing. There is now a real possibility to make their details more specific and to begin to deal with their practical aspects. Both countries have indicated their interest in discussing political problems, and, moreover, harmonious attitudes to key international problems link them together.

Thus Soviet-PRC relations have a realistic chance of developing in a positive direction. The Soviet Union's consistent peace offensive in Asia, and among other things, the withdrawal of six Soviet regiments from Afghanistan by the end of the year--to begin already this month--has created a climate for this.

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

RUDE PRAVO ON CRITICAL MATERIALS IN USSR PRESS

AU101431 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 8 October 1986 on page 6 carries a 1,100-word article by Lubor Kazda and Jan Tihlarik entitled "What Have You Done for Acceleration?; Over the Pages of Soviet Press." The article reviews three cases of criticism of high-ranking Soviet officials as publicized in the Soviet press recently.

The first case reviewed by RUDE PRAVO concerns a recent check by the CPSU Party Control Committee, publicized by the "Soviet press" (no date given), which uncovered a "number of irregularities" in the plan fulfillment reports of the USSR Ministries of Transportation and Transport Construction. The check revealed, the RUDE PRAVO article says, that N. Konarev, USSR minister of transportation; V. Brezhnev, USSR minister of transport construction; and A. Bevzenko, first USSR deputy minister of transport construction, doctored the plan fulfillment reports of their sectors last year (by including in them, for example, yet unfinished projects). As a result, the CPSU Party Control Committee meted out to them "party punishments for violation of party and state discipline."

The second case cited in the RUDE PRAVO article is based on an undated MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA report and concerns the first secretary of the Frunzenskiy Rayon Party Committee, Gryaznov. According to RUDE PRAVO, Gryaznov failed to fulfill the requirements of the 27th CPSU Congress on "restructuring" his work and made himself guilty of "idealizing" the situation in the rayon as well as of "poor style of management, subjectivism, and nonadherence to principles in work with cadres." That is why a "reprimand with a warning" has been imposed on Gryaznov and why the Presidium of the Moscow City Party Committee will deal with his request to be released from this post.

The third case dealt with by RUDE PRAVO is based on an article published by the Trade Union daily TRUD on 2 September and concerns L.V. Smirnov, deputy RSFSR minister of textile industry. The TRUD article, as quoted by RUDE PRAVO, criticized Smirnov for not having lived up to a promise, made during his visit to a textile factory, to ensure sufficient supplies of yarn and thus help the factory's employees to utilize their modern machinery.

In a concluding paragraph, the authors of the RUDE PRAVO article view the three above cases as evidence that the strategy of acceleration "increases the demands on the work of everyone, from workers up to ministers."

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POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PRC DELEGATION'S ACTIVITIES REPORTED

AU101112 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 Oct 86 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "The Need to Strengthen Mutual Contacts"]

[Text] Prague (CTK)--The official friendly visit of the delegation of the PRC's National People's Congress [NPC] led by Liao Hansheng, deputy chairman of its Standing Committee, continued yesterday [7 October] with the delegation's stay in the CSSR's capital, Prague. The visit is proof that friendship and cooperation between our peoples and states, which we can call traditional, are developing and deepening in many directions on the basis of the principles of equal rights and mutual advantage. This is undoubtedly contributing to the interests of the CSSR and PRC, as well as to the cause of socialism and peace in the world.

In the morning the delegation members first paid tribute to the memory of the unknown soldier. To the strains of the March of Fallen Revolutionaries and the sounds of military honors being presented, they laid a wreath at his grave at the National Memorial on Zizkov hill in Prague. The act of poetry was concluded with the national anthems of the two countries and with a ceremonial march of the military guard of honor.

The delegation inspected the premises of the memorial, and signed the visitors' book before leaving it.

A cordial atmosphere characterized the reception given to Chinese delegation at the Czech National Council (CNR), the supreme representative body of the Czech SR, where the guests acquainted themselves with the work of CNR agencies and deputies.

Josef Kempny, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and CNR chairman, began by stating: Permit me to express how glad I am that we can meet personally at that period when Czechoslovak-Chinese relations are developing intensely. We have common goals--to build the socialist society and to raise the people's living standards, and, naturally, we are also linked by the essential prerequisite of the realization of these goals, namely, the effort to ensure world peace. I am convinced that your visit will be one of the foundation stones on which we are building mutual comradely relations between our two countries and their communist parties.

Josef Kempny then explained to the guests the CNR's position in our political system, the CNR's structure, and its basic powers. He indicated the main tasks of the CNR's legislative, control, and initiating activities and showed how the CNR committees are participating in the fulfillment of the tasks.

Liao Hansheng expressed thanks for the ardent reception accorded the delegation in Czechoslovakia. The world faces two urgent tasks today, he declared. The tasks are to successfully defend world peace and to achieve the economic development of all countries without discrimination.

From his words it followed that China maintains unambiguous stands in this respect. It is in favor of immediately halting nuclear tests and in favor of gradually liquidating nuclear arms. At the same time, however, it also considers essential the limitation of conventional armaments, and it is taking practical steps for this--for instance, last year it cut the numerical strength of its army by 1 million men.

He also expressed China's interest in a further development of cooperation with the socialist countries. This interest was also documented, among other things, by the visit made by the NPC last year to Poland and the GDR, as well as its present visit to Hungary and Bulgaria, which preceded the delegation's stay in Czechoslovakia. As Liao Hansheng stressed, the visits are intended to fully reopen and strengthen mutual contacts, and political contacts as well, particularly between the communist parties.

Long live and flourish the friendship between the people of China and Czechoslovakia--this is what the head of the Chinese delegation wrote in the CNR visitors' book at the end of the visit.

In the afternoon the significant talks between the Czechoslovak and Chinese representatives continued at the Federal Assembly building, where the delegation members were sincerely and cordially welcomed by Alois Indra, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly. He stressed that in the person of the Chinese deputies, we are welcoming outstanding representatives of the people of a great socialist country, whose visit represents yet another step leading toward the development of friendship and cooperation between the CSSR and the PRC.

In a comradely talk--also attended by Jan Marko, Vladimir Vedra, Dalibor Hanes, Zbynek Zalman, and Jozef Simuth, deputy chairmen of the CSSR Federal Assembly; by Alois Hula and Vaclav Stafek, deputy chairmen of both Federal Assembly Chambers; and by Zhang Dake, PRC ambassador to the CSSR--Alois Indra first briefed the guests on the domestic-political situation in Czechoslovakia. He pointed out the working people's efforts aimed at fulfilling the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress, and the main tasks of the socioeconomic development of our society in the Eighth 5-Year Plan and during the following period.

Speaking about current international political affairs, the chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly said that alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries within the framework of the Warsaw Pact is a basic, unchanging factor of our foreign policy. We seek balanced and equal relations with developing countries, he went on to say, and mutually advantageous contacts and constructive dialogue with capitalist states. We fully support the proposals of the Soviet Union aimed at strengthening world peace and disarmament, which, however, only rarely meet with a positive response in imperialist circles. The United States and some of its allies continue to pursue a feverish arms buildup and try to carry it into space. Mankind expects, Alois Indra said, that at the forthcoming meeting at Reykjavik President Reagan will display a sufficient measure of political realism. In assessing the situation in various parts of the world, he emphasized the importance of Asia and the Pacific region; a comprehensive proposal for the solution of the problems existing in that part of the world was put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev in his Vladivostok speech.

We are glad that our positions are either very close or completely identical on many questions of principle with regard to the international scene, Alois Indra emphasized in conclusion. He declared that in his opinion the present period is an extremely promising one for an intensive development of Czechoslovak-Chinese relations and wished the Chinese people many successes in their endeavor to modernize the national economy and in implementing other important tasks mapped out by the CPC.

Dalibor Hanes then briefed the guests on the position and main tasks of the CSSR Federal Assembly.

In his statement, Liao Hansheng expressed appreciation for the positive development of Czechoslovak-Chinese relations in recent years and voiced the conviction that they will even intensify in the period to come, especially in the political field.

Our country follows an independent foreign policy, he went on to say, which is guided by the principles of peaceful coexistence with all states and seeks the strengthening of peace and disarmament. We sincerely wish yielding of a positive outcome to the forthcoming summit meeting between representatives of the USSR and the United States because all mankind needs peace.

He then spoke about the conclusions of the recent Sixth Session of the CPC Central Committee and about the targets of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. The preceding 5-year plan, with its 10 percent growth in national income, made it possible, among other things, to achieve virtual self-reliance in the production of foodstuffs. The living conditions of the population in cities and rural areas have greatly improved, earnings have increased, and new jobs have been created. The annual growth of national income in the Seventh 5-Year Plan should average 6.7 percent; industrial and agricultural production should increase fourfold by the end of the century; compared with 1980. The attainment of this target should be assisted,

above all, by the current reform of the economic system, which has already been completed in agriculture and which is now being implemented in industrial branches.

The head of the Chinese delegation then briefly dealt with the activity of the NPC and its 155-member Standing Committee, its Presidium, and its individual committees. In concluding, he invited a delegation of the CSSR Federal Assembly led by Alois Indra to pay an official visit to the PRC. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

The Chinese deputies then asked representatives of the CSSR Federal Assembly a number of questions. Wang Hanbin, secretary general of the Standing Committee, for example, wanted to know how often the Federal Assembly holds its sessions, how it organizes the work of committees, how deputies at various levels of our representative system cooperate, and so forth.

The guests then inspected the Federal Assembly building and signed the visitors' book.

In the evening Alois Indra gave a gala dinner in honor of the delegation of Chinese deputies. It was attended by Jan Marko, Vladimir Vedra, Dalibor Hanes, Zbynek Zalman, Jozef Simuth, Alois Hula, and Vaclav Stafek, CSSR Deputy Premier Jaromir Obzina, and other representatives of our political and public life. Zhang Dake, ambassador of the PRC to the CSSR, was also present. The dinner took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

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POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPCZ, JCP DELEGATIONS HOLD TALKS IN TOKYO

AU021056 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Sep 86 p 7

[CTK report: "Interest In Deepening Cooperation; Talks Between Delegations of the CPCZ and the Japan Communist Party"]

[Text] Tokyo (CTK)--A CPCZ delegation, headed by Michal Stefanak, head of a CPCZ Central Committee department, conducted talks with a delegation of the Japan Communist Party [JCP] headed by Jasou Ogata [spelling of name as published], member of the Presidium and head of the international department of the JCP Central Committee, in Tokyo on 21-24 September.

The delegations informed one another about the situation in their countries and about the activity of their parties. They exchanged views on the current international situation and some questions pertaining to the developments in the international communist and workers movement.

It was stressed that the struggle for peace, against feverish arms buildup, for banning and finally scrapping nuclear weapons, and for eliminating the threat of nuclear war, are the most important tasks of the present. The USSR's unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions contributes to achieving these objectives.

The delegations of the two parties spoke up against the militarization of outer space. They categorically condemned the U.S. Government's plans to realize the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative, enlisting further countries in this "star wars" program.

The CPCZ delegation informed the Japanese partners about the numerous initiatives of the countries of the socialist community aimed at strengthening peace and international security, at eliminating tension in Europe, and at substantially reducing the volume of nuclear and conventional weapons in that sensitive region. The JCP delegation supplied information about the struggle of Japanese communists against the nuclear threat, for the closing down of American nuclear bases on Japanese territory, the creation of zones without nuclear weapons in Japan, strict observance of the three non-nuclear principles and the safeguarding of the peace articles of the country's constitution.

In this connection, the two delegations stressed the importance of the campaign for signing the appeal from Hiroshima and Nagasaki, which calls for a total ban on and scrapping of nuclear weapons.

The two delegations expressed solidarity with the struggle of nations for peace and social progress, against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, and racism, and for the liquidation of hotbeds of tension in the world. They noted the importance of an active mutual cooperation and common struggle by the communist and workers parties and all anti-imperialist and peace forces for averting nuclear catastrophe.

The two delegations assessed the development of mutual relations and agreed to strengthen and deepen friendship and cooperation between the CPCZ and the JCP in the interest of the nations of Czechoslovakia and Japan, of peace, socialism, and progress.

They are convinced that the differences in views among individual parties as regards the assessment of some phenomena of the international situation or domestic development cannot be an obstacle to their cooperation in the interest of a peaceful and progressive development of the world.

The CPCZ delegation, on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, invited the JCP delegation to pay an official visit to the CSSR.

The CPCZ delegation was also received by Hirosi Taciki [spelling of name as published], member of the Presidium and secretary of the JCP Central Committee.

The talks were held in a comradely and friendly atmosphere and contributed to each learning to know the other better and to the strengthening of the two parties' cooperation.

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POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DAILY CALLS FOR 'REALISTIC, FAIR' DIVISION OF '88 OLYMPICS

AU101343 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Oct 86 p 8

["Zi"-signed commentary: "Responsibility Lies in the Hands of the International Olympic Committee"]

[Text] The Asian Games, which served, above all, as the last rehearsal for the 24th Summer Olympic Games of 1988, ended in Seoul last week. Life goes on, however, and as early as next week the 91st session of the International Olympic Committee [IOC] will open in Lausanne, where the organizers will report on the state of preparations for this festival of sports.

As is known, three meetings have already been held between representatives of the National Olympic Committees of the DPRK and South Korea on transferring some competitions to Pyongyang, the DPRK's capital. It is the wish of the Korean people that the joint organization of the 1988 Olympic Games should demonstrate the togetherness of the nation living in two parts of the divided peninsula, a nation that has always yearned for the unification of its country.

In the second round of the talks, the IOC proposed to the two countries that the archery competition, the table tennis tournament, the individual road cycle race, and one of the qualifying groups of the soccer tournament be held in the DPRK. No detailed agreement has been reached thus far and, according to latest reports, the fourth and final meeting will only be held next year. The National Olympic Committees of socialist countries support the idea of staging the 1988 Olympic Games in both parts of Korea, and the implementation of this idea.

However, differences in views persist because the DPRK demands a larger number of competitions. It seems that a compromise would be the most sensible solution in this case. According to a recent interview given by Marat Gramov, chairman of the USSR National Olympic Committee, to the CPSL Central Committee daily PRAVDA, it is precisely the forthcoming 91st IOC session that should deal with the issue of division. However, as has already been said, the fourth round of talks between the two Korean parties is planned for next year. A realistic and fair assessment of this sensitive issue by the IOC would undoubtedly contribute to a successful course of the 24th Summer Olympic Games in 1988.

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CSO: 2400/24

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

KAPEK HOLDS TALKS WITH NEMETH IN BUDAPEST

LD082215 Prague CTK in English 1930 GMT 8 Oct 86

[Text] Budapest, 8 Oct (CTK correspondent)--The fulfillment of the conclusions of the 17th Czechoslovak Communist Party Congress and the 13th Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Congress, especially in the economic sphere, were discussed here today by Antonin Kapek and Karoly Nemeth.

Antonin Kapek, member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague city Communist Party committee, and Karoly Nemeth, deputy general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, pointed to their countries' efforts to intensify the development of national economies by modernizing technology, innovating production, speeding up the introduction of results achieved in science and developing further cooperation within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

The delegation of the Prague city committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, led by Antonin Kapek, ended its three-day visit to Hungary tonight and left for home.

On his departure, Antonin Kapek told CTK correspondent here his talks with Hungarian representatives were fruitful. One of the concrete results is an agreement on the establishment of a working commission to search the ways of producing goods so far imported from the capitalist countries, and speeding up the process of automation, he said.

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CSO: 2020/14

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

'SOCIALIST INTELLIGENTSIA' ORGANIZATIONS MEET IN PRAGUE

AU301337 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 24 Sep 86 p 2

[CTK report: "Meeting of the Fraternal Countries' Socialist Intelligentsia; Accelerating Socioeconomic Development"]

[Text] Prague (CTK)--An international meeting of representatives of the fraternal organizations of members of socialist intelligentsia from the socialist countries began in Prague on 23 September.

The 5-day deliberations, organized by the Central Committee of the CSSR Socialist Academy, are attended by delegations of partner organizations from the USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, Mongolia, the GDR, Poland, Vietnam, Cuba, and Korea. The purpose of the meeting is to deepen cooperation and exchange experience acquired from the part played by the organizations of members of the socialist intelligentsia in the fulfillment of the conclusions of the congresses of the communist and workers parties in the individual countries, particularly as regards the acceleration of the society's socioeconomic development.

Docent Doctor Alois Gros, Candidate of Sciences, deputy chairman of the Central Committee of the CSSR Socialist Academy, informed the meeting participants about the resolutions of the 17th CPCZ Congress as they apply to the conditions of the activity of the CSSR Socialist Academy.

In their speeches, representatives of the fraternal organizations agreed in stressing that the content of ideological work is to clarify the purpose and the line of acceleration of socioeconomic development, the conditions of intensification and scientific-technical progress, and the struggle to change the thinking and the psychology of man so that they correspond to the stipulated tasks, aimed at perfecting the socialist society. They noted the importance of being active in elucidating international relations and conducting offensive education for peace, socialist patriotism, and internationalism. But they also noted the importance of concretely and convincingly exposing the dangerous, aggressive, and militarist policy of imperialist forces.

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CSO: 2400/24

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

AFGHAN EDITOR SPEAKS ON WESTERN AGGRESSION

AU081056 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Oct 86 p 6

[Interview with Sadik Kawoon [spelling of name as published], chief editor of the Afghan newspaper HAQIQAT-E-ENQELABE SAUR, by RUDE PRAVO staff journalist Vera Posledni: "The Revolution Builds, the Revolution Defends Itself"--in Prague "during his recent visit" to the CSSR]

[Excerpts] [Posledni] The Afghan people are faced with an undeclared war. What are its organizers after?

[Kawoon] The chief organizer of the undeclared war against our people, our fatherland, and our revolution is, beyond any doubt, international imperialism, headed by the United States of America. Pakistan plays the role of a staging area for armed aggression against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan [DRA]. The total damage inflicted on the DRA by counter-revolutionary gangs amounts to 40 billion Afghanis. With its policy of aggression and state terrorism, the White House pursues political-strategic objectives connected with spreading and intensifying tension around Afghanistan. The Islamabad regime profits from the continuation and prolongation of the undeclared war against the DRA. On the basis of the American-Pakistani agreement, the United States has granted Pakistan aid amounting to \$3.2 billion, and this sum is to reach \$6 billion.

The policy of diktat, aggression, and state terrorism practiced by the U.S. ruling circles is no secret to anyone. I read Comrade M. Gorbachev's interview with RUDE PRAVO. I agree with his words that Reagan's policy in the issues of international peace is dangerous.

[Posledni] The U.S. Government supports terrorists and at the same time it passes them off as "freedom fighters." What do you say about that?

[Kawoon] The decisions and statements of the White House and by other American officials are clear evidence. The U.S. Department of State has declared that this year the Afghan counterrevolutionary gangs will receive \$600 million worth of weapons. In the 1980-86 period, the United States gave these gangs \$1.5 billion for criminal actions against Afghanistan. On Pakistani territory there are more than 120 training camps for

counterrevolutionaries, and 18 in Iran, in which American, Chinese, French, West German, and other foreign instructors and advisers are active. They are "teaching" terror.

[Posledni] What is the truth about the use of chemical weapons in Afghanistan?

[Kawoon] The fact is that the counterrevolutionary gangs are using these weapons for military purposes and, at the same time, a lying campaign is being waged against the Soviet Union's international, friendly, and fraternal assistance. In 1981, the counterrevolutionaries used poisonous substances against children in schools. And there exists further evidence about the use of chemical weapons by criminal gangs in the DRA's border areas. Our newspaper HAQIQAT-E-ENQELABE SAUR writes about this every day.

And I still would like to mention the resolution of the situation around the DRA. Afghanistan and the USSR have always manifested goodwill and are in favor of an early solution to the situation around Afghanistan. As Comrade M. Gorbachev said in Vladivostok, the USSR has taken practical steps on this path by deciding to withdraw six regiments from the limited contingent of its troops from Afghanistan. It is imperialism alone, headed by the United States of America, that has been holding back this process.

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POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DAILY COMMEMORATES ANNIVERSARY OF IRANIAN TUDEH PARTY

AU061432 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 Oct 86 p 7

[Commentary by Boris Latta: "The History of Courage"]

[Text] In May 1983, when the government disbanded the Party of the Masses [Tudeh], hundreds of Iranian communists--including the party's leading cadres--found themselves behind prison bars; many were insidiously assassinated. One of the party's statements in reaction to reprisals against Tudeh stated, among other things: "The 40-year history of the Party of the Masses testifies that all large attacks against the interests of the Iranian people, against their sovereignty, freedom, and democracy, always began with the attack against true revolutionaries."

Today, when we are recalling together with the entire progressive world the 45th anniversary of the emergence of Tudeh (Hezbe-e-Tudeh), the above quotation is both an eternal reminder, and a lesson to be learnt. By the entire party, by all progressive people.

The Party of the Masses is the continuation of the Iranian Communist Party, founded in 1920. For all of the following 20 years the communists, who stood among the first ranks of the national liberation movement in the country, were exposed to terror. They worked underground up to the downfall of profascist Shah Reza in September 1941. After the departure of the hated monarch, certain democratic freedoms were restored in the country. The communists left the prisons, and on 2 October 1941 they founded the Party of the Masses. It was a Marxist-Leninist party, which continued the traditions of the Iranian Communist Party. In 1946 the party already had 50,000 members; it became the most mass-based political party. This fact was like a thorn in the side of the domestic and foreign reaction--all the more so when the communists got to enter the coalition government. Cruel police and military reprisals were the response of the enemies of progressive transformations. In February 1949 the party again had to go totally underground.

Despite the complicated conditions of underground work, the Tudeh actively joined the struggle for democratic reforms; in the second half of the 70's it joined the popular movement for overthrowing the Shah dictatorship.

It played a significant role in the downfall of the Shah regime. However, after the revolution of February 1979, the reactionary part of the Muslim clergy made use of the fact that both the Tudeh party and other progressive forces showed signs of having been weakened during the long years of persecution by the monarchist regime, and essentially monopolized the political power, even though its narrow class interests and its efforts to carry out the Islamization of the society are not in keeping with the people's longings.

But even the greatest wrongs did not break the Tudeh. This was proved, after all, by the recent nationwide conference; among other things, it worked out a line which corresponds to the peculiarities of the party's operations under present conditions. It elected Comrade Ali Havari first secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of the Masses.

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POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DAILY INTERVIEWS TANZANIAN CHIEF EDITOR

AU091202 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Oct 86 p 6

[Interview with Ali Ameir Mohamed [spelling of name as published], chief editor of UHURU, the newspaper of the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania, "during his recent visit" to the CSSR conducted by RUDE PRAVO staff journalist Pavel Kryl in Prague: "Africa Is Not Nonaligned"]

[Excerpt] [Kryl] Tanzanian is so-called frontline state and resolutely opposes the apartheid regime in Southern Africa. How do you assess the situation in this part of your continent?

[Ali Ameir Mohamed] There used to be times when reports were arriving from the Republic of South Africa about victims of racist oppression. Patriots are still dying, but as fighters and not as victims reconciled to their fate. The black people have risen against oppressors. This must be also acknowledged in the West. In the past they used to completely ignore sanctions against the Republic of South Africa, but now they must seriously discuss them, and some capitalist states have even adopted certain economic sanctions. They realize that support for apartheid is no longer in harmony with their interests in Africa.

[Kryl] However, the veto of President Reagan of congressionally approved sanctions shows that the U.S. Government has a different opinion on the matter.

[Ali Ameir Mohamed] I would be surprised if it would be otherwise. Since it came to power, the Reagan government has let it be clearly known that it looks on the apartheid regime as on its loyal ally, and it proclaimed a policy of "constructive engagement" toward it.

The White House strives all it can to postpone a just resolution of the Namibia issue, and it would like best if the Security Council's Resolution No 434, which demands free elections for that country under international supervision, would not be mentioned at all. However, despite Reagan's efforts, the recent special session of the UN General Assembly depicted the resolution again as being the basis for a just solution in Namibia.

[Kryl] When Reagan vetoed sanctions against Pretoria, he substantiated it by, among other things, also noting that they would harm the surrounding Africa states too.

[Ali Ameir Mohamed] That is a matter of opinion. What is better: To face problems caused by sanctions and contribute to the liberation of the people of South Africa, or to leave the apartheid regime alone and put at stake not only the freedom of the South African and Namibian people but, in the final consequence, also the independence of the other states of this region? We have to face economic problems in any case, whether sanctions are imposed or not. I am convinced that eliminating apartheid and establishing close cooperation with South Africa is the most effective way to resolve our current economic difficulties.

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POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

HAVLIN SPEAKS ON CULTURAL POLICY

AU061438 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Sep 86 p 2

[Excerpts] Comrade Josef Havlin spoke at the regional aktiv meeting on the tasks of developing culture and arts in the Central Bohemian Region in the year 1986-90, which was held on Monday [29 September] in Prague. Among other things, he said in his speech:

The strategy of accelerating the CSSR's economic and social development, adopted by the party's 17th Congress and based primarily on a broad implementation of the results of science and research in practice and on the full utilization of all resources at our disposal--particularly in intensifying social production and in enhancing its efficiency and improving the qualitative standards of all work--is gradually taking on specific features through the decisions of party and state agencies in the region and also in individual districts; the strategy becomes primarily oriented toward activating people in every way and to a higher extent, toward the full use of their abilities and interests, on making basic changes in their way of thinking, psychology, and morality, on developing a creative attitude toward work, and on the comprehensive mobilization and efficient use of their creative initiative and energy.

Under contemporary conditions we see one of the most essential features of the CPCZ's cultural policy in the development of the working people's creative activity by means of culture and arts, and in shaping man into a creative personality and an enterprising realizer of revolutionary transformations; we regard this as the implementation of the humanitarian social mission of culture and as a significant part of the struggle to build developed socialism.

Socialist culture and arts are capable of playing their constantly developing and deepening social role--particularly from the viewpoint of enriching society's spiritual life and of shaping the socialist personality and socialist awareness, as well as with regard to their significant mission in the contemporary class-divided world--solely in the comprehensive and undivided development of society, in the uniform operation and implementation of all its functions.

It is a good thing that in the Central Bohemian Region much attention is being paid to popular music, which means to an area that affects a large part of the population, and particularly the younger generation. It is right that in the Central Bohemian Region one will not tolerate anything that can harm socialist culture and the socialist upbringing of a young person, that spoils our people's good taste, denigrates our people's achievements, and undermines the authority of the party and the state.

This naturally does not mean that we are against good jazz and pop music. It was stressed at the 17th CPCZ Congress that we regard this music as an important element of leisure hours and of the development of the socialist way of life. Nevertheless, we are concerned with getting music which is aimed at providing a good musical experience for a person, at entertaining, and at making the hours of relaxation pleasant. Such music is welcome in the houses of culture, in plant clubs, and on various social premises. We are glad to note the public's broad interest in festivals and shows with domestic and foreign participation. We are glad to note the spontaneous interest, particularly among the younger generation, in participation in various music groups. We are concerned that their public performances should correspond to our cultural-political interests and show really good-quality work.

The development of pop music is closely linked with the problems of social entertainment, where the standards were most severely criticized by the 17th Congress. And not by chance. In 1985 alone almost 80 million people participated in the about half-a-million events organized in the country. The rather deplorable phenomena manifested during these events in an unfavorable way are mostly caused by trying to achieve the maximum financial profit. The organizers of these shows are far less interested in the manner in which the citizens will be entertained and in whether the standards of these events will be worthy of persons living under socialism. It must therefore be stated quite frankly that we will not make any progress in this sphere without consistent checking, without pressure exerted on the purposeful use of the authorization procedures of national committees, and without proper inspection activities on the part of state agencies.

It is known that our ideological adversaries increasingly realize what a strong weapon art and culture is in the struggle between capitalism and socialism. You know that their communications media constantly strive to disrupt our cultural front and to achieve the greatest impact on its workers. If some time ago this method simulated a certain objectivity in "assessing" the situation among the ranks of our artists and our cultural public, today it resorts to lies and hateful outbursts, in which our adversaries are not in the least concerned with the essence of the matter, but strive to disorient and lead our people to oppose the cultural policy of the CPCZ and of the state. The targets of this heckling propaganda are mostly individuals who are willing to do anything and everything for their personal benefit--people who are totally unaccessible to our arguments, or else people living under the impression that socialism gives them no way to assert themselves, and particularly no opportunity to get rich in the way they could under capitalism. Some of these domestic apostates note programs from abroad and try to publish various pamphlets of our defectors or dissidents illicitly.

The Western communications media launch concentrated and increasingly furious attacks against the class principles of our cultural policy, striving to arouse aversion to devoted workers and especially to the prominent representatives of our cultural life. The Western media treat these people as a kind of traitor, as people without any backbone, as collaborators; they belittle the results of these people's social efforts. On the other hand they supply them with advice on how they should behave as "true" patriots and what their creative activity should be like. They systematically try to prove to these people that they cannot be free under the conditions of socialism. In their opinion the only creator of cultural values or organizer of cultural events who is free is one who is actively opposed to his own people and their interests. They use the term free solely to describe Western culture. To prove this they constantly dream up new proof that our culture has been drawing inspiration from Western sources since time immemorial.

In the interest of truth it must be said that we have no need at all to orient ourselves only in one direction; and that we need not be ashamed of drawing at the rich well of Soviet culture. But it is typical in which direction our class adversaries are trying to push us exactly with regard to our contacts with Soviet artists and with the representatives of USSR culture. In a slanted and distorted approach to facts, they are trying to prove what kind of things allegedly took place at the congresses of writers and film workers in the Soviet Union, and are "advising" us to follow their example. Why? They claim that a basic disagreement with the Soviet Union's cultural policy allegedly took place at the congresses, a deviation from socialist realism, and so forth.

The truth is that Soviet writers and film-makers spoke at their congresses with total frankness about the results of their work, the purpose of which they see in the further enhancement of the socially desirable richness of their artistic work. Insofar as they dealt with shortcomings, they were concerned with finding paths on which the Soviet culture would most intensively contribute toward the mutual understanding and rapprochement of the peoples of the world and take a yet more active part in the fight against imperialism and the war aspirations of world reaction. All in order to become a yet more powerful factor of the spiritual progress of all mankind, and so that the voice of Soviet culture would be heard wherever freedom, peace, and a happier life of man are the issue.

We are drawing the necessary lesson from the deliberations of both congresses, as well as from the entire contemporary cultural life in the Soviet Union. We, too, have things which we must correct in lack of taste, in the effort to achieve yet more striking results in drama and in film and literary work. We must do everything and strive with the aid of all artistic means for man's harmonious development and for the development of his educational standards and culture. It is necessary to mutually take over the values of the Czech and Slovak culture, and do this with greater efficiency, to draw inspiration from their unique sources, and to deepen the unity of ideology and high artistic skill.

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POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPCZ'S HAMAN ADDRESSES ARMY OFFICIALS

LD032342 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 3 Oct 86

[No video available]

[Text] A meeting of officials of the Czechoslovak People's Army took place today in Prague with the aim of evaluating the fulfillment of tasks in the past year of training, making general use of good experiences, discovering the causes of shortcomings, and clarifying the tasks of the next training year. Present at the meeting was Comrade Josef Haman, representatives of the commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact, the Central Group of Soviet Forces, and other guests.

In his speech General of the Army Milan Vaclavik, minister of national defense, said that the command of the Czechoslovak People's Army devoted most attention in the past training year to increasing the responsibility of commanders, political officials, and staff for implementing the fundamental policy of the recruitment policy of the CPCZ and the socialist state and its introduction into the life of the army. The army-wide party aktiv which worked out the policy of the 17th CPCZ Congress and which set out the main aims of its implementation in the army in decisive areas, made a significant contribution to the fulfillment of all tasks.

Comrade Josef Haman also spoke at the meeting. Among other things he said that the fulfillment of tasks in the Czechoslovak People's Army is taking place in unity with the efforts of our people to speed up social economic development and the development of society. He praised the results achieved in improving the combat and political readiness of the men and the deepening battle ties of our army with the Soviet Army and the armies of other Warsaw Pact member states. At the same time he pointed out the need to increase the efficiency of management, organizational, and ideological educational work in the army. Comrade Haman also pointed out that the most reactionary forces of imperialism are still increasing the arms race and are striving to transfer it to space. He also emphasized the importance of the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, in particular the Soviet unilateral moratorium on nuclear weapons tests.

At the end of the meeting, representatives of the tank unit which had been awarded the Order of the Red Star, presented the minister of national defense with an all-unit pledge and an appeal to all units of the Czechoslovak People's Army to compete in achieving excellent results in training next year.

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POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PAPER URGES END TO CLASHES BETWEEN ECONOMISTS, IDEOLOGUES

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Oct 86 p 1

[Unsigned editorial: "A Common Front"]

[Text] Let us put it openly, straight from the shoulder: Economic developments are not moving in the direction outlined by the 17th CPCZ Congress. Efforts at implementing the acceleration strategy are far too dilatory and fall short of meeting the requirements. This is tellingly confirmed, for example, by the absolutely unsatisfactory growth of qualitative indicators related to the plan fulfillment, by the fact that our goal of growth in national income is not being reached, and so on. We are suffering from a chronic disease described in a recent issue of HOSPODARSKE NOVINY: "Work-time losses in the industry represent 15-20 percent, in construction 30 percent. Utilization of management and administrative personnel frequently does not even reach 50 percent of the total work-time."

Without putting on dark-colored glasses, without dramatizing or displaying dire pessimism--none of this would be justified--it still must be said that the current period of drastic changes will inevitably bring many problems to a head and will force us to deal with them in nontraditional, even revolutionary ways and methods. It will bring out in all their nakedness, our chronic shortcomings and weaknesses of whose existence we were and are well aware but about which we did nothing. And if we did tackle them, our actions were inconsistent and halfhearted, or we postponed their solution to a later day.

And so the time will come, when we will have to start looking for the culprits who failed doing what they were supposed to do, who complicated rather than solved many of our cardinal problems. Who, according to their degree of authority and responsibility, did what they should not have done and did not do what they should have accomplished.

Without assuming the posture of false prophets, we may expect that there will ensue clashes between individuals or groups in the economic and ideological fields. One group may start accusing the other, argue about their share of guilt, etc. We must warn against this tendency or possibility and nip debates of that kind in the bud. Policy, economy and ideology are bound together dialectically, they must cooperate to function, theirs is an interactive relation.

Because there are indications that some economists on the one hand and some ideologists on the other will blame or accuse one another, it is quite appropriate to remind both groups of the 15th Session of the CPCZ Central Committee in 1980 which, in a marxistically correct and clear manner, emphasized that "broad ideological activity is an integral part of political organization and management, of the party's common effort of management and economic institutions..." Regrettably, this stipulation which was one of the fundamental stipulations formulated by the Session remained for many people in many localities in the role of a Cinderella. They either underestimated it, failed to take note of it, or deliberately circumvented and ignored it in practice.

A common denominator for shortcomings in economy and ideology could be defined as follows: If there is a large number of obvious weaknesses and incomplete tasks in the economic area, it is apparently because many (or most?) economists and managers have not taken a political approach to problem-solving, and because political and ideological work has not always, and not everywhere, created sufficiently effective conditions and atmosphere that would be conducive to honest work. Nor has it created a climate of resistance to indiscipline and negligence and to those who raise their living standards by dishonest means, by following illegal paths.

If we are to speak truthfully, and with some justification, about shortcomings on the ideological front, we cannot conceal the fact that until now that front has not shown enough courage to come to terms with departmentalization and to discard the general and the abstract in favor of a direct approach. It is an art, but also a duty of ideological personnel to keep public opinion under constant "stress" until an urgent problem is solved and a shortcoming corrected, and to compel the personnel in positions of responsibility, by the pressure of public opinion, to act in social interest, to mobilize and unite people for oversoming difficulties, and to adopt revolutionary methods of thought and action. This inspiration to act, this personal example, this display of fighting spirit--that is what is urgently needed to bridge word and action and every propagandist is responsible for that.

Fighting spirit and effectiveness of propaganda resides in its functional, dialectic linkage with practice. Ideological work cannot represent, much less create, only a kind of superstructure over a "humdrum" practice. Practice is the measure of the effectiveness of ideological work. At the same time, its correctness and effectiveness are measured by the extent to which it blends with or "absorbs" theory, ideology, and the ideals which we advocate and which we want to achieve.

Rightly, we emphasize the ideological background of economic activity. But the economic or broadly speaking the public safeguarding of the ideological effort has at least as large, if not greater, a significance. After all, any chaotic, wasteful deed or unjust reward, any manifestation of graft and bribery, misuse of one's functions, violations of the law, etc., negates the work of thousands of agitators and propagandists.

We criticize opportunism, expediency, formalism, and pragmatic sophistry wherever they take place. This criticism, and that concerns ideology as well, is and will be ineffective as long as these abuses will pay off, as long as there is a conflict between socialist principles and practice, as long as people can see that it is to one's disadvantage to act on principles, that it is risky and leads to trouble while unprincipled servility brings advantages or dividends.

It cannot be doubted that ideological efforts, the political work with the masses, must be supported by a well-designed economy and an attractive, strong social policy. Or, to narrow the issue down to one of the most sensitive ones: economic incentives must pull in the same direction, and with the same force and inspiration as education. It is not possible to create new ways of thinking by means of propaganda only. Propaganda, if it is to be effective, if it does not want to drown in a flood of empty phrases and idle talk, must be supported by an entire system of political and management efforts that are comprehensive and specific and that can be implemented. That is the path of true unity of theory and practice, words and actions.

We have discredited and perverted one of the main principles of socialism mentioned above--pay according to work. We do it when we do not significantly differentiate quality work, or when we average out remuneration because of idlers, or when we pay awards for unsupported or fictitious work or even accounts and reports. We ourselves are undermining the authority of the plan when we gradually "fulfill it" by softening it up, adjusting, or, more accurately, deforming it according to departmental demands, and when we cosmetically adjust the significant indicators. It is mere life service to quality when we allow wasting labor, raw material, and energy, or making products which only increase unsalable inventories.

Let us put it directly and openly: functionaries and economists who, disregarding the existing economic mechanism and the current economic conditions, ask and expect that propaganda and agitation safeguard the creation of new ways of thinking and psychology; who do not create real conditions for socialist economic incentives with an eye to the quality of work, its quantity and significance, but demand that education and propaganda insist on stressing the effectiveness of moral incentives, such functionaries cannot but be branded either philosophic idealists, or, from the viewpoint of economic policy, shortsighted and colorblind opportunists. Such economists and functionaries belong to the brotherhood whose emblem is the trinity of narrowminded practicism, coarse pragmatism, and arrogant bureaucratic dogmatism.

To manage the economy means, above all, to manage people. And we like, perhaps intentionally, to forget that a central place in economy is accorded to the plan, to our political approach to it, and to discipline. That is why the fraternal trinity mentioned above, together with the wheeler-dealer viewpoint in and approach to economy and to socialist economic integration, must be the enemies of every communist. That is why it must be our incorruptible duty to evaluate all economic results politically.

To change numbers and percentages of a plan into concrete reality can only be done by a human being, a group, an individual. The relentlessness of time, the serious nature of our epoch, our party conscience--they all demand that we convert numbers into deeds. That is why it is rightly demanded of everyone of us, but particularly of our managers, that we give to society all our expertise and organizational capability, that we learn to work with people, and prove our political maturity and our fighting spirit by enforcing the party policy.

Activation of the human factor in implementation of today's and tomorrow's tasks requires us to stir up a healthy dissatisfaction with the achieved results, an honorable interest, and an obstinate effort to search for and implement new approaches, to unfold the will and conviction that we want to, that we must move forward faster. Whoever in this battle reconciles himself to or even fraternizes with any of these shortcomings will hardly be anything more than a carrier of these enduring maladies and glaring shortcomings.

We are involved in a battle and we cannot but keep on fighting until it is won. But we must do this without forcing a confrontation, even if it is just between individual economic and ideological front personnel. We are in it together and we are mutually indispensable.

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POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

'DISPUTES' AMONG SOCIALIST HISTORIANS NOTED

AU012206 Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech and Slovak No 9 (September 1986),  
signed to press 4 Aug 86, pp 105-114

[Article by Professor Doctor Samuel Cambel, doctor of sciences, corresponding member of the Czechoslovak and Slovak Academies of Sciences, director of the Historical Sciences Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava, and Docent Doctor Marian Skladany, candidate of sciences, department head at the Faculty of Philosophy of Comenius University, Bratislava: "Historic Sciences and Education Through History"--article is written in Slovak]

[Excerpt] The struggle for social progress, which runs like a scarlet thread through the fabric of the history of mankind, was and continues to be, tremendously complex and difficult. It is the duty of historiography to demonstrate and depict it as such. That is why not only progress, but also setbacks, not only that which is positive in history, but also that which is negative, must constitute the subject of attention of history and its social influence. This is also true of the so-called negative personalities. The fact that very often nothing is said about them in history lessons is accountable for the perpetuation or resuscitation of many historical legends.

The most shocking thing for historians in the years of crisis was the fact that--in defiance of the purposeful endeavor of Marxist historiography in the 50's and 60's to stamp out legends from the time of the rule of the bourgeoisie surviving in the historical awareness of our society--all of these legends, including the most reactionary ones, all of a sudden reappeared in public in their stark nakedness and were received by a part of the public with applause (the Stefanik and Masaryk [founders of the "bourgeois" Czechoslovak republic in 1918] legends, for example, and Hlinka, Tiso, and company [protagonists of the independent Slovak state that collaborated with Nazi Germany], too, were nearly brought back to life).

The Stefanik and Masaryk legends gained their place in the historical tradition of our nations by dint of the 20 years of systematic ideological influence of the bourgeois Czechoslovak Republic. It is surprising how deeply this tradition has become ingrained in the historical awareness of

society and how tenaciously it lives on, although it must be considered that it is being artificially nurtured by anticomunist centers in their ideological subversion directed against socialist Czechoslovakia. Despite the almost 40 years of existence of socialist schools in our country, they still manage to infect even some young people with it.

A year ago, in connection with the 1,100th anniversary of the death of [the Slav apostle] Methodius, some people expressed the fear that there could be a revival of the legend surrounding St Cyril and St Methodius. However, we prepared ourselves well for the possibility of a clericalist misinterpretation of the Cyril-Methodius tradition. The initiative was seized by atheists and, in their wake, by archaeologists, who produced palpable evidence dug out from underground to demonstrate the independent identity [svebytnost] of Great Moravian culture on our territory, for which the work of Cyril and Methodius marked, in fact, just its completion in the sphere of the superstructure. However, the attack came from a side from which we expected it least of all. Pseudoscientific theories cropped up, and received broad publicity, locating Great Moravia outside our territory. The aim was to communicate indirectly to us that we lay claim to something that has nothing to do with us. The purpose of this was obvious--to revive old "historical disputes" among nations that are part of the socialist community today, disputes that were overcome and settled long ago, and thus to attempt, also in this way, to erode the socialist community's unity.

The assumption that present-day ideological, political, and other problems and conflicts are without bearing on the protraction of these abstract historical issues is wrong. We must bear this in mind, particularly because ancient history is sometimes presented as something that is not relevant, as something to which it is not necessary to devote systematic attention in ideological and propaganda work. Experience teaches us, however, that in ideological and political struggle use is being increasingly made of topics from ancient history. It is even possible to say that in the present situation ancient history provides much more rewarding material than more recent and modern history for exerting influence on society's awareness. This is because of its remoteness, which creates the impression of absolute discontinuity with contemporary problems and makes possible its "nonpartisan" assessment, regardless of differences in present ideological positions. And, which is even more important, because contemporary man knows relatively little about those long-bygone events and occurrences and is often willing to accept at face value the interpretation that is being offered to him.

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POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

WESTERN VERSION OF JAN MASARYK DEATH REBUTTED

AU282143 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Sep 86 p 3

[Article by Jaroslav Kojzar in the "Such Are the Facts" column: "Causa Masaryk"]

[Text] She is called Claire Sterling and she is a "prominent journalist," to quote the appraisal of Western bourgeois communications media. She has already written a couple of books and several articles which have brought her fat fees. Thanks to her contacts with the espionage organization CIA she was given the opportunity to voice the first "suspicion" in the "Antonov case" which, as is known, has ended with a fiasco for the Italian judiciary, but which helped fan anticommunist hysteria for a long time. But she also wrote another work, "Causa Masaryk," in which she voiced another thesis which was offered her by the American sociologists working in the services of ideological-subversive centers. The thesis was even repeated by the West German FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in its issue of 12 September. The paper claimed that on 10 March 1948 "nobody in Prague believed the official version of "Masaryk's suicide." Who is the "nobody?" Only later in 1948, after the reaction began to feel the need to cast doubts on Jan Masaryk's legacy, an agent of British intelligence, called Bruce Lockhard and presenting himself as a publicist, uttered the fiction about a murder. And what about all of Prague at that time "living" with that idea?

At that time, too, the familiar question heard by every neophyte of legal sciences at the very moment of entering the legal university department was valid: Cui prodest? Whom does it serve? The answer to the question formulated in this way is quite unambiguous: Jan Masaryk's suicide could never have "served" Klement Gottwald's government. On the contrary. His presence in the government was a most significant act which belonged among the political victories achieved by our party. In that case, why should one get rid of this bonus? Quite apart from our disagreeing on principle with all kinds of terrorism, such a course would have been illogical, even absurd.

In 1968, when the lady mentioned above and Ivan Svitak, the right wingers' ideologist of the times, again started talking about the Masaryk case, there were reasons for that. It was necessary to try and spit on the

Communists, or at least at some of their representatives. One also reckoned that certain Narcissi would attempt to utilize their "memoirs." Which truly happened. At the beginning it seemed as though the intentions would be realized. They even found a certain Major Chlumsky who owned "notes" made at some kind of "secret meetings." After a time it became apparent that this alleged major, an alleged resident agent of Western intelligence, was not even an officer, nor was he a resident agent. The "notes" were spurious and written by him in the hope of becoming famous and acquiring financial means. However, the right wing and Western bourgeois press wrote not a single line about this at the time--particularly not after it was discovered that Major Chlumsky was in fact the habitual offender Kadlcak, with 11 convictions behind him, whose name also used to crop up in the registers of Western police headquarters before the war.

Other "witnesses" also dreamed up fairy stories; and the communications media controlled by right wingers were happy to give space to them.

When the office of the prosecutor general later closed the case, after verifying all possible and impossible clues, and unambiguously affirmed the suicide, this received far too little echo.

Happily, soon after that the crisis-ridden years became a thing of the past. The right wingers had to leave their positions. Things could be called by their right names.

That is why it is appropriate to ask: Why is it exactly today that the gentlemen from the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG (and other media) are reiterating Bruce Lockhard's fictions (which had been dusted off by Claire Sterling) that "Jan Masaryk's death will remain a mystery"? It is because the West German reader has heard nothing about the conclusions of our prosecutor general's office; because in our country, too, a generation has grown up that does not remember the daily pressure of communications media controlled by right wingers; and because it need not be in vain to sow among the members of this generation the small seed of doubt or distrust... The only thing is that the year 1968 is a thing of the past, and Mrs Claire Sterling and her epigones are finished in our country....

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POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

TASKS, FEATURES OF COUNTERPROPAGANDA OUTLINED

AU081031 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Oct 86 p 1

[Editorial: "In a Principled and Purposeful Manner"--passages between slantlines printed in widespace]

[Excerpts] The principled, unappeasable fight against the bourgeoisie and against petit bourgeois ideology, against various forms of the bourgeois world outlook, have always represented an important component of the communist party's ideological and ideological-upbringing activities and were always the center of gravity in the party's practical political activity.

The qualitative changes which we are currently striving to achieve, the radical dynamization of socio-economic development, and the realization of the strategy of acceleration all depend, *inter alia*, on a really active, full utilization of the advantages of socialism in the actual activity of all strata of the working people. All this places increased demands on the people's ideological-political maturity and their ability to orient themselves independently in the complications of the times; to appraise phenomena and events from consistently class-orientated Marxist-Leninist positions; to creatively implement the party's policy; and to introduce into practice the new long-range approaches and viewpoints.

It can be said that the unprecedented enhancement of the significance of the human factor is literally forcing us to be more consistent in warding off the influences of bourgeois ideology, the expressions of petit bourgeois mentality and thinking, the various prejudices in the people's way of thinking and acting, and the manifestations of both cheap optimism and defeatist attitudes.

However, our class enemies also realize this. The psychowar unleashed by international imperialism is nothing but a tool of the policy of state terrorism--nothing but an expression of the effort to disrupt the political system of socialism and its economic and defense potential. It is quite understandable that our enemies are focusing their interest exactly on those issues on which the people's correct orientation, their ability and /readiness/ to adopt the party's policy as their own, to identify themselves with it, and to consciously implement it, depends. That is also why it is not merely an issue of a confrontation and a battle of ideas,

or of clashes of opinions; it is far more than that. It is a battle for the people's thoughts and actions for shaping their minds and convictions, a battle which rages within the context of the current radical social transformations, with all the potential desirable and undesirable, literally fatal consequences and results involved.

It is not easy to provide an unambiguous answer to the question on how we are realizing these exacting tasks. One must consider totally unsatisfactory those approaches which place positive aspects on one side of an imaginary balance, and then study whether they weigh more than shortcomings and the still existing, unused reserves and possibilities, or whether they at least balance them. One must ask about the /whole/ propaganda and counter-propaganda activity (as is imperative if we want to achieve a radical turn in this specific sphere of ideological activity too), then the /unity/ of the entire process, even if it is complicated and intrinsically contradictory, will become clear and emphatically obvious.

It is in these contexts that we must regard all external circumstances, but also the essential internal aspects of both contents and methodology of counter-propaganda, and especially its realization, since all these factors are still diminishing the efficiency of counter-propaganda activities because they are not properly balanced.

Let us take, for instance, the standards of criticism levelled at contemporary capitalism and at the kind of policy its ruling circles pursue. Often this criticism is restricted by the most narrow view of capitalism's internal contradictions, its social and economic diseases, its system of values, its morality, and its interpersonal relations. We often proceed as though we had adopted the viewpoints of bourgeois liberalism, or allowed them to be foisted on us; we merely point out the most blatant phenomena, but fail to graphically present the essence, social oppression, and dehumanization in all spheres of life in capitalist society.

Imperialism's hostile intentions with regard to mankind's /vital/ interests must be unmasked more strikingly. We particularly lack factual arguments, based on a deep analysis and on vivid and telling examples which would make our propaganda more convincing. It is essential to offer the /interpretation/ of events, on the basis of a creative and crystallized class viewpoint which is clever in the propaganda sense. We are still not really capable of warding off the simplified, distorted ideas on capitalism which are being carefully, intentionally cultivated by the bourgeois anticommunist propaganda.

In this connection our counter-propaganda must be oriented toward knowledgeably informing people about the socio-economic problems of the working people in the capitalist world. It must be more prompt in analyzing the changing forms of the antipopular policy pursued by the monopolies, and in unmasking the substance of their maneuvers against the working people's strengthening fight for the fulfillment of their demands, against the growing influence of real socialism.

The enforcement of the unity of word and deed, an exacting attitude toward the work, stands, and natural personal example of all communists, these are of immense significance in winning people for the realization of the party's policy and in making them resistant against hostile ideology and manipulation. An analysis of the contents of ideological subversion proves that propaganda makes frequent use of manifestations of opportunism, of a lack of principles, of abuse of a person's official position, of all that harms the authority of the communist party and of its socialist system in particular.

We often stress the need for topical, specific, and specifically addressed counterpropaganda. It can really be said that it is senseless to speak of good counter-propaganda without following up its topical, specific impact. The impact of counter-propaganda depends on a timely, flexible, above all qualified reaction, applied at the time and in the place where (and if) opinions, moods, and stands are being shaped and the people's political and value orientation established.

The failure to use all possibilities is expressed, above all, in our endeavor to improve the propaganda of results achieved by the socialist transformations, particularly in the socio-economic sphere. The general declaratory, statistical, at first glance seemingly conclusive calculations and tables of data and results still prevail here. Moreover, they are often subordinated to narrow consumer-customer viewpoints and criteria--the same criteria which we immediately proceed to criticize in other contexts.

The party's enterprising, principled, constructive approach to the solution and removal of problems shows an important counter-propaganda impact. The thing that nourishes the various campaigns of parasitical antisocialist propaganda is a failure to resolve problems, an opportunistic evasion of problems, naked "interpretation" and false justification and making excuses for attitudes--all that diminishes the people's trust and activity, all that demobilizes them and fills them with disgust. One of the most effective ways to unmask our adversary's intentions is responsible facing up to our problems, and making an effort to solve them; this is an expression of a truly responsible attitude to the people's vital interests and creative efforts.

It is a weighty task of counterpropaganda activity to work out more deeply its differentiated approaches and methods of fighting the various variants of bourgeois anticomunist ideological concepts. Qualified, flexible, differentiated counterpropaganda work is, together with the specific results achieved in the process of building developed socialism, the necessary prerequisite of effective, good, and forceful counterpropaganda work.

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POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PEZLAR ON MINORITIES, 'SECRET CHURCH'

AU050510 Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech and Slovak No 9 (September 1986),  
(Signed to press 4 Aug 86) pp 25-38

[Article by Professor Doctor Ludovit Pezlar, candidate of sciences, member of the CPCZ Central Committee, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee: "Topical Questions of the Ideological Work of the Party in Slovakia"--article written in Slovak]

[Excerpts] The documents of the 27th CPSU Congress are an inexhaustible source of inspiration in itemizing and implementing the program of the 17th CPCZ Congress. The socialist countries jointly tackle basic theoretical, but also practical, questions connected with the concept of accelerating socioeconomic development, and their all-round mutual cooperation is one of the crucial conditions for the successful implementation of their targets. As has been stressed by Comrade G. Husak in speaking about the historic importance of the congress of Soviet Communists, "many problems that we face are either identical or similar; that is why we must take the same or similar paths and use the same or similar methods in tackling them."

A highly positive result of the development of ideological and political-educational work connected with the explanation and implementation of the programmatic documents adopted at the 17th CPCZ Congress and the 27th CPSU Congress is the failure of attempts by foreign anticommunist propaganda to upset the social awareness of our population by artificially placing the results of the two congresses in opposition to each other. That which the imperialist centers of ideological subversion present as "contradictory in principle" represents, in fact, the consideration of unique features of historical development and of specific qualities of current social conditions; it is the result of creativity in approaching common tasks.

The correct understanding of the national question has always been, and continues to be, of great importance for the development of ideological work under the specific conditions of the Slovak Socialist Republic [SSR]. The solution of this question on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and experiences of the Soviet state is one of the great historic successes of the CPCZ and our people, a success in which we rightly take pride.

However, our successes in the solution of the national question do not mean that there are no problems with regard to relations among nations and nationalities, problems that must be dealt with. The fact is that relations among nations and nationalities are an integral part of social relations and as such, must develop further and improve in accordance with the strategy of accelerating socioeconomic development. The building program of the 17th CPCZ Congress establishes favorable conditions for the further development of nations and nationalities and for their rapprochement. However, it is also true of this area that nothing new comes about automatically and spontaneously but is the result of purposeful endeavor by party, state, economic, cultural, and other social agencies and organizations.

The challenging tasks that we have begun to implement require consistent concern for the further promotion of the internationalist unity of the entire Czechoslovak society. The process of shaping a new historic community--a Czechoslovak people united by the cohesive force of the identity of economic interests, ideology, and political goals--a process that is objectively taking place, must not be artificially accelerated, but it must not be artificially slowed down either. The main prerequisite for the successful development of this process is thorough scientific knowledge about the present state of national relations and about existing problems and shortcomings and their prompt solution. In the sphere of education, for example, it is now important to improve the professional orientation of young members of ethnic minorities by enlisting them systematically for university study of technical fields and natural sciences, fields of study that are of decisive importance for the furtherance of the scientific-technical revolution.

The further development of our society requires, among other things, improved relations among federal state agencies and the republics' state agencies, their highly effective operation, and coordination between them. These questions, in addition to other issues, will be dealt with within the framework of preparations for the new CSSR Constitution.

In order to further develop nationality relations, the need is becoming apparent to deepen the education of our population in the spirit of Czechoslovak socialist statehood.

Experiences confirm that so far we have been making insufficient use of the possibilities offered by culture and the arts for better mutual knowledge and mutual enrichment of the nations and nationalities in Czechoslovakia. A highly positive trend that significantly contributes to enhancing a Czechoslovak cultural context is the steadily growing interest in the values of Czech culture in Slovakia and in the values of Slovak culture in the Czech Socialist Republic. To enhance this context even more requires, among other things, that we devote greater attention to the literature of Czechoslovak authors of Hungarian and Ukrainian nationality and to making their works accessible in the Czech and Slovak languages. Despite a certain improvement in the last few years, we still have considerable reserves in this respect.

Very successful is the development in the SSR of the activity of the Cultural Union of the Hungarian Working People (CSEMADOK) and of the Cultural Union of the Ukrainian Working People (KSUT). The financial allocations set aside for their activity in the state budget doubled in the years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. CSEMADOK currently has 518 and KSUT 272 local organizations. Their amateur artistic ensembles have more than 23,000 members. The two organizations have their own principal festivals, which have become an inseparable part of our cultural life. The latest example of a positive solution of the problems connected with the development of the culture of ethnic minorities is the introduction of the "Review of the Events of the Week" in the Hungarian language, broadcast on channel II of Czechoslovak Television, and the expansion of the number of hours and improved quality of the contents of broadcasts on Czechoslovak Radio in Slovakia.

Improvements in national relations require, next to adherence to principles, also essential sensitivity, due tact, and certain patience. Experience teaches us that in their subversive activity directed against Czechoslovakia, anticomunist forces attempt to resuscitate nationalism and to exploit it as an instrument to destabilize political conditions in our country. In pursuing this aim, they avail themselves of reactionary emigre organizations such as the World Congress of Slovaks, which professes allegiance to the populist [ludacky] nationalistic ideology of Slovak clericalist fascism. This organization is headed by Stefan Roman, a Canadian tycoon of Slovak origin, whom the Sudeten German Landsmannschaft recently awarded the so-called Charles' Prize. This fact speaks for itself. The World Congress of Slovaks produces and disseminates, among other things, fabrications about Slovakia's alleged unequal position within the CSSR. It has also traditionally been trying to misuse people's religious feelings.

Next to their endeavor to disturb relations between the Czech and Slovak nations, the anticomunists in the leadership of this organization have also zeroed in on Slovak-Hungarian relations. They fabricate all kinds of "appeals" addressed to Slovak national authorities, in which they demand steps against citizens of Hungarian nationality. It is characteristic that Hungarian emigre organizations, steered by the very same anticomunist centers, at the same time spread what are literally "horrors" about some sort of oppression and suffering of the Hungarian population in our country.

However, this propaganda is so primitive and so conclusively refuted by life itself that it can have no impact on the absolute majority of our population. That is why the organizers of anticomunist anti-Czechoslovak campaigns increasingly focus on religious and church matters and on questions regarding the democratic nature of our political system.

Experience teaches us that we have no right to underestimate nationalistic vestiges, moods, and inclinations. We must bear in mind that they do not necessarily take the shape of comprehensive nationalistic theories and views. Their exponents for the most part would not call themselves nationalists. Vestiges of nationalism can find their expression in incorrect attitudes toward citizens of other nationalities, in the postulation of unrealistic demands, and in many other forms.

As was pointed out at the CPSL Congress, it continues to be necessary in national relations to vigorously overcome any attempts to artificially revive and raise questions that used to divide our nations and nationalities in the past and which have been successfully resolved in the process of building socialism. The exacting nature of the current building tasks requires that we guard like the apple of one's eye, and steadily reinforce, the unity and cohesion of our people.

In their activity of ideological subversion directed against Slovakia, anticomunist forces ascribe particular importance to Catholic political clericalism, the chief exponent of which are illegal structures known as "the secret church." This phenomenon is not the result of the current arrangement of church affairs in our country, let alone the consequence of some alleged persecution of believers, as is claimed by anticomunist propaganda. The beginnings of these structures date back to the final stages of World War II, when they were set up by representatives of Slovak clericalist fascism at a time when it became clear that fascist Germany and its allies would lose the war. Immediately after liberation, they operated under the name "family." They were organized by an agent operating under the name Tomislav Kolakovic.

In a certain form, these illegal church structures exist among believers to this very day. They are made up of clergymen who were deprived of a state license because of their hostile activity toward our state, of illegally ordained priests and bishops, some ex-members of church orders, militant laymen, and religious fanatics. Experience confirms that by the circumstances of its inception as well as ideologically and politically, the "secret church" is inseparably associated with Slovak clericalist fascism and with the populist, nationalistic, fascist emigration abroad. It is steered by anticomunist forces from abroad. It is no coincidence that the leadership of the reactionary emigre organization World Congress of Slovaks includes 5 bishops and 24 priests.

The "secret church" carefully conceals its true plans and aims from believers, just as the populist emigration hides them from our fellow landsmen, for example in Canada, the seat of the World Congress of Slovaks. Last year "Fifth Estate," one of the most popular Canadian television programs, showed a documentary entitled "A Journey Back," which--on the example of the tragic fate of more than 60,000 Jewish citizens from Slovakia--revealed the true face and exposed the crimes of Slovak clericalist fascists. Symbols of the clericalist fascist state and portraits of its representatives, for example, are being propagated in so-called "Slovak homes" to this very day. Their activity in emigration has provoked indignation among Canada's democratic public.

In the process of building socialism, the illegal church structures drifted into isolation from believers and were gradually disappearing. A certain activation of these structures then occurred on the instigation of foreign anticomunist forces, under the influence of the events in the Polish People's Republic of 1980-81. Poland became some kind of a test firing range where antisocialist forces tested the effectiveness of political

clericalism as an instrument of combating the socialist social system. The most effective weapon against the abuse of the religious feelings of our population is to unmask the true aims of political clericalism, to show its links with anticomunist forces in the world. Historical facts and files in our archives conclusively show that the believers were always the ones who had to pay the dearest price for the activity of political clericalism.

Clergymen and members of the church hierarchy who have a positive attitude toward our state and take part in the construction of our society, are the target of particularly hate-filled attacks from the illegal structures. It is paradoxical that the same Vatican dignitaries who, under the pretext of a ban on political activity, try to curb the participation of patriotic clergymen in the building efforts of our people and their activity in the struggle for peace, tolerate the hateful anti-Czechoslovak activity of anticomunist priests and bishops operating in the World Congress of Slovaks, even though the political nature of this organization is clearer than the sun.

The rapid growth in the number of programs on religious topics on Radio Free Europe, Voice of America, and other instruments of ideological subversion bears out that anticomunist forces increasingly orient themselves at exploiting the religious feelings of believers. A large number of these programs--for example, the hateful sallies by emigre Father Anton Hlinka--constitutes, in fact, guidelines for antisocial activity by structures of the "secret church."

One of the reasons for this focusing on believers is the absolute fiasco of the attempts to piece together some kind of an antisocialist "opposition" from the defeated remnants of right-wing, opportunist, and antisocialist forces. For example, they managed to obtain in Slovakia the signatures of only a few individuals under the ill-famed Charter 77 pamphlet. It is typical that even Eugen Loebl, a representative of the "new model of socialism" in the period of crisis, joined the clericalists from the World Congress of Slovaks once in exile and is now together with the "uranium king," Stefan Roman, a champion of the theory of "responsible society," which is self-evidently a capitalist one. Anticomunist forces have reached the conclusion that the only chance of the endeavor to destabilize political conditions in our country, to yield some degree of success is if they manage to ideologically and politically disorient a segment of believers. This was apparently the outcome of their analysis of the results of the destructive activity of representatives of political clericalism in the Polish People's Republic.

The attitude of our state toward believers is clear. It establishes conditions for their religious self-realization. It fully ensures in material terms the activity of 18 churches and religious communities and their institutions. Unlike neighboring Austria, no one in our country goes to court to extort a church tax from believers. The state defrays the crucial part of the expenses connected with the activity of churches, including the clergy's pay.

The great majority of believers inwardly and profoundly identifies with socialism and takes part in the building efforts of our people. The conviction about the advantages of collective farming has become so deeply rooted in the awareness of the rural population in Slovakia--where the degree of religiosity was unusually high in the past--that no one dares to openly challenge it.

Associated with the socialist transformation of our society is the end, once and for all, to religious intolerance, which was responsible for so much evil in the past. That which believers and nonbelievers have in common is much stronger than that which divides them--it is, above all, the socialist social system as the outcome of the revolutionary struggle of our people for national and social liberation, the joint building effort, and its results. What divides them is their world view.

Anticommunist forces are doing all they can to present the differences in the world view of believers and nonbelievers as absolute, describing them as that which matters most, as an obstacle to cooperation. The profound joint interest of believing and nonbelieving citizens is to prevent the abuse of religious feelings for the purpose of upsetting the moral and political unity of our people, their abuse of socialism, progress, and peace in the world.

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CSO: 2400/24

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

VATICAN RADIO CARRIES STATEMENT BY CZECH RIGHTS GROUP

LD051238 Vatican City International Service in Czech 1830 GMT 3 Oct 86

[Notice No 560 issued on 25 September 1986 by the "Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted, the Czechoslovak Human Rights League"]

[Text] During the past few weeks a petition has been underway in Bohemia and Moravia with the goal of criticizing the law on abortion now in effect and, particularly, its proposed amendment. State security bodies have reacted in typical manner.

On 20 August Josef Adamek, a 72-year-old pensioner and father of 12, a Catholic activist and Charter 77 signatory, was detained in front of building housing public duplicating facilities in Brno. Around 100 copies of a petition, just duplicated and properly paid for, were confiscated from him and he was taken to the regional directorate of the National Security Corps where he was subjected to more than 5 hours of interrogation, coupled with threats, insults, and other psychological pressure, during which he suffered a nervous breakdown. Around midnight he was taken home and forced to hand over several hundred more copies of the petition and various materials concerning abortions.

In the days that followed a number of interrogations related to this matter took place in Brno, northern Bohemia--where Bishop Karel Ocenasek was repeatedly interrogated--and in Olomuc. Catholic priests in various districts of the Republic were visited or summoned by members of the state security, who strongly impressed on them that they must have nothing at all to do with the campaign.

On 20 September Marie Kaplanova, a mother of 10 children, was detained in front of her apartment in Prague. After an interrogation lasting several hours, she was released, but the state security authorities confiscated lists containing 2,600 signatures, which she had in her possession at the time of her detention.

We can either agree or disagree with the intentions of this civic initiative or take a reserved stand on them. But what is without doubt is that at issue is a totally lawful use of the right to petition guaranteed by

the Czechoslovak constitution. The only unlawful acts in the entire matter are the interventions and acts of repressions by state security.

[Signed] The Committee for the Defense of Unjustly Persecuted, the Czechoslovak Human Rights League--a member of the International Human Rights Federation.

[Dated] 25 September 1986

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CSO: 2400/24

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

HRUSKOVIC TOURING SLOVAKIA--Povazska Bystrica (CTK)--Miloslav Hruskovic, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and secretary of the Slovak Communist Party (CPSL) Central Committee, arrived for a working visit in Povazska Bystrica on 14 October. He acquainted himself with the development of the district and with the prospects of the engineering industry there. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Oct 86 p 1] /9604

COLOTKA IN NITRA--Nitro (CTK)--Peter Colotka, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and premier of the Slovak SR, and Ignac Janak, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Slovak Communist Party's West Slovak Regional Committee, attended the expanded session of the Scientific Council of the Higher Agricultural Academy in Nitro, held on 14 October in honor of the academy's 40th anniversary. The academy currently has almost 4,000 students; up to 100 of them come from the countries of Latin America, Africa, Asia, and Europe. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Oct 86 pp 1, 2] /9604

TV, RADIO FACILITIES IMPROVED--An antenna system for the first and second television channels and the VSW radio broadcast, and a transmitter for relaying Soviet television's central program went into test operation at the television transmitting center in Sucha Hora near Kremnica on 23 September, more than 1 month ahead of schedule. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Sep 86 p 2] /9604

PREMISES FOR UKRAINIAN STUDIO--CTK--On 24 September the first building for the CSSR's nationality programs was opened for operations in Presov, where it will serve as the Ukrainian studio of Czechoslovak radio. The ceremony was attended by Karol Mrocek, deputy department head of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee; Jan Risko, central director of Czechoslovak radio; Stefan Bachar, director of Czechoslovak radio in Slovakia; representatives of the Uzhgorod Oblast Television and Radio Committee; and others. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 25 Sep 86 p 2] /9604

CEMA ELECTRICITY PRODUCTION--In 1985 the CEMA countries produced 2.41 trillion kWh of electric energy, which constitutes more than 20 percent of the electricity produced worldwide. Most of the electricity within

the CEMA framework was produced by the USSR--1.545 trillion kWh, and by Poland--138 billion kWh. The production of electricity in the CEMA countries rose 18 percent in the past 5 years and five-fold compared with 1960. [Text] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Oct 86 p 6] /9604

EUROPEAN MEDICAL FEDERATION MEETS--A plenary session of the European Federation of the Organizations of Medical Physicists (EFOMP) was held on 21 September in the CSSR. It was attended by the federation's chairman, Dr Jean Chavaudre of France, and by representatives from Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, France, Hungary, the GDR, the FRG, Austria, Sweden, Italy, Great Britain, and the CSSR. The federation deals with interdisciplinary approaches to the treatment of tumors and in general diagnostics. The session preceded the second international symposium of clinical physicists, which opens on 22 September in Smolenice, Slovakia. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Sep 86 p 2] /9604

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION CONFERENCE--A conference devoted to the "comprehensive solution of the protection and creation of environment in cities and industrial regions," which began in Most on 23 September, is being attended by experts from the CSSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, the FRG, Poland, the USSR, and Britain. They will exchange experiences acquired in the course of "resolving technical and technological problems in connection with the economic aspects of habitation environment and the construction of housing developments from the viewpoint of health and social care and the natural environment of cities and industrial regions." [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Sep 86 p 2] /9604

INTERNATIONAL CONTRACTS AT FAIR--Brno (CTK)--The contracts concluded at the 28th international engineering fair in Brno, which ended on 24 September, amounted to goods exchanges to the tune of more than Kcs48 billion. The largest turnover achieved was with the USSR (Kcs24.2 billion), the GDR (Kcs4.7 billion), Poland (Kcs3.9 billion), Turkey (Kcs2.5 billion), and then with Bulgaria, Hungary, the FRG, Romania, and Yugoslavia. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 25 Sep 86 p 2] /9604

ACADEMY DELEGATIONS ARRIVE--Delegations of representatives of fraternal partner organizations from Bulgaria, Hungary, Mongolia, the GDR, Poland, the SRV, and the USSR arrived in Prague on 22 September at the invitation of the Central Committee of the CSSR Socialist Academy to take part in the international gathering of the representatives of these organizations, to be held 22-27 September. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Sep 86 p 2] /9604

GASTROENTEROLOGICAL CONGRESS--A Czechoslovak gastroenterological congress began in Kosice on 24 September. In addition to almost 400 CSSR experts, it is attended by more than 50 experts from Bulgaria, Italy, the SFRY, Hungary, the GDR, the FRG, Norway, Poland, Romania, and the USSR. They will assess the progress made in diagnosing, treatment, and prevention of diseases affecting digestive organs. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Sep 86 p 2] /9604

STUDENTS ON PALESTINIANS--Prague (Dusan Brabec)--An international information mission consisting of representatives of three West European students' unions--the SYL in Finland, the VVS in Belgium, and UNEF in France--who returned from a visit to Israeli-occupied Palestinian Arab territory organized by the International Students Union (ISU) and the General Union of Palestinian Students, reported on 22 September at the premises of the ISU headquarters in Prague on the Israeli policy of genocide against Palestinians in the occupied territories. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Sep 86 p 2] /9604

NEW PEACE COUNCIL CHAIRMAN--The 12th session of the Czech Peace Council, which was held in Prague on 18 September, "unanimously elected" Miroslav Kuzdas, prorector of the Brno Institute of Higher Technical Learning, chairman of the organization. Kuzdas replaces in this function Antonin Stejskal, who is retiring. Zdenek Kriz was "also unanimously elected" to the newly established position of acting deputy chairman of the Czech Peace Council. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Sep 86 p 2] /9604

FORESTRY-RELATED ISSUES DISCUSSED--A meeting of leading representatives of the agencies of the forest economy of the CEMA states, which ended in Ceske Budejovice on 12 September, discussed "economic utilization of the forests' wealth, their protection, the environment, the exchange of experience acquired from the utilization of scientific-technical findings, and the concept of further cooperation in the production of the necessary machinery." At the end, an agreement was signed by representatives of all countries attending the meeting--Bulgaria, the CSSR, Cuba, Hungary, Mongolia, the GDR, Poland, Romania, and the USSR. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Sep 86 p 2] /9604

FORESTRY CONGRESS IN 1988--Members of the Forestry Commission of the International Trade Union Association of Workers in Agriculture, Forestry, and on Plantations, who met 11-12 September in Pribylina pod Vysokymi Tatrami, discussed, among other things, the protection and restoration of forests in the catchment area of the Amazon River and African jungles. Their resolution put stress on more effective activity by trade unions when fighting for the rights of the working people in the capitalist and developing countries. At the same time, the resolution "affirmed that the World Trade Union Congress of Workers in Agriculture, Forestry, and on Plantations will be held in Czechoslovakia in 1988." [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Sep 86 p 2] /9604

BITUMINOUS COAL DEPOSITS--Czechoslovak geologists have verified that the deposits of bituminous coal in the Melnik-Benatky area in Bohemia contain an estimated 1 billion tons of good-quality coal. [Summary] [Prague LIDOVÁ DEMOKRACIE in Czech 9 Sep 86 p 1] /9604

COUNTERFEIT DOLLAR BILLS--(ART)--Several Czechoslovak citizens tried to exchange \$50 counterfeit bills in the branches of the Czechoslovak State Bank in Hradec Kralove this week. Preliminary investigations reveal that they had bought them from unidentified foreign tourists. [Summary] [Prague LIDOVÁ DEMOKRACIE in Czech 20 Sep 86 p 4] /9604

URANIUM INDUSTRY PRODUCTION--Pribram (CTK)--Vladislav Novy, director general of the Czechoslovak Uranium Industry enterprise, speaking at an aktiv meeting in honor of the Day of Miners and Power Engineers '86 that was held on 6 September in Pribram, stated that last mining year the concern fulfilled the plan of driving work in the required structure 103.2 percent; gross metal production was overfulfilled more than 3 percent; the concern's chemical preparations plants produced in the next phase of the production process up to 105.7 percent of the planned chemical concentrate while processing smaller quantities of raw material; and the metal content in waste was cut down by 2 percent. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 Sep 86 p 1] /9604

SLOVAKIA'S HEMP HARVESTING--Ton (Frantisek Buda)--In Slovakia, hemp is harvested only in the Galanta and Komarno districts, the only ones to cultivate it. Currently it is planted on about 1,200 hectares; the acreage is steadily diminishing, mainly because of a lack of specialized machinery and due to strenuous manual work connected with its cultivation. Semi-finished hemp products are produced in the Flax and Hemp works in Holic and in the Sladkovicovo and Ton enterprises. In 1986 the Ton enterprise will have to import 2,000 tons of raw hemp from Hungary. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Sep 86 pp 1, 2] /9604

HUSSITE CHURCH SUPPORT PEACE--A resolution sent by the Central Council of the Czechoslovak Hussite Church to the Czechoslovak Peace Committee in Prague expresses full support for the Soviet peace initiatives. The resolution states, among other things, that the Hussite Church and its peace committee "are convinced that the populace of the planet could not get a more valuable present than the proclamation of the Soviet Union, conveyed by Mikhail Gorbachev, on the latest unilateral extension of the deadline for halting tests of nuclear weapons until 1 January 1987." [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Sep 86 p 2] /9604

AUSTRIAN FAMILIES VISIT--Trebon (CTK)--The 3-day stay in southern Bohemia of families from Austria ended on 28 September with the planting of two symbolic trees of peace in Komensky Park in Trebon. A meeting with our families and with representatives of the host Czechoslovak Women's Union was held within the framework of the International Year of Peace as a contribution to a better understanding and development of friendly relations. The guests also saw the production of the world-famous glass in the Cesky Kristal [Czech Crystal] enterprise in Chlum near Trebon. They acquainted themselves with the activity of the corps for civic affairs in Jindrichuv Hradec, they learned about the extent of our social and spa care, as well as some historical monuments. The chats and discussions both with our people and in the counterpart families with children were permeated by yearning for a happy life in tranquility, without war. Similar meetings will be held in the CSSR with citizens from Hungary, the GDR, the FRG, Poland, and the USSR. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Sep 86 p 1] /9604

CENTRAL SLOVAK PARTY MEMBERSHIP--At a session in Banska Bystrica on 10 September, the CPSL Central Slovakia Regional Committee discussed developing and improving the quality of the membership base of the party

in the Central Slovak region after the 17th CPCZ Congress. The session, which was attended by Eugen Turzo, chairman of the CPSL Central Control and Auditing Commission, noted that the regional party organization has grown by more than 15,000 members and candidate members since the 16th party congress and now comprises more than 130,000 Communists. It stressed the duty of primary party organizations to devote attention to the selection, training, and quality of candidates for party membership, particularly to reinforcing the party's worker core. The fact that only 6.3 percent of party members in Tesla Orava and only 9.3 percent of party members in the Ruzomberok Paper and Pulp Mill are workers does not testify to good political work in these organizations. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Sep 86 p 2] /9604

TALKS IN MONGOLIA--Mongolia--The delegation of Czechoslovak production cooperatives headed by Jaroslav Matousek, chairman of the Czech Union of Production Cooperatives, have had talks in Ulaanbaatar with officials of the Mongolian Ministry of Local Economy and Services about cooperation in the current 5-year period. At the end of the visit of the Czechoslovak delegation an agreement on cooperation between the Czech and Slovak Unions of Production Cooperatives and the Society for the Development of Local Economy and Services of Mongolia for the period of 1987-90 has been signed. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 6 Oct 86] /9604

CSO: 2400/24

POLITICS

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

COMPENSATION CLAIMS SETTLED WITH SWEDEN

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 25 Oct 86 p 18

[Article by Bo Westmar: "Nationalized Property Compensation Agreed"]

[Text] East Germany is going to pay 70 million kronor to about 300 Swedish individuals and business firms for property nationalized after World War II.

That is the content of an agreement between Sweden and the GDR signed Friday [24 Oct 86] in East Berlin.

Sweden is thus the second country after Finland to receive compensation for private property in the former German Reich which was later confiscated by the GDR.

Among the creditors are too large Swedish companies, but most are private citizens who owned real estate, bank accounts, securities or small businesses in old Germany.

Among the nationalized holdings there are also Swedish owned factories.

Since 1973, the year after Sweden established diplomatic relations with the GDR, Sweden has been negotiating compensation for the Swedish properties with the GDR.

This has been a very tedious process, says Hans Corell, head of legal affairs in the foreign ministry and chairman of the Swedish negotiating team. One of the major problems has been to correctly evaluate the Swedish assets 40 years after the war's end.

It has also been a difficult question to determine the extent of Sweden's right to negotiate on behalf of Swedish firms whose foreign subsidiaries later became nationalized property in the GDR. The two countries have differing opinions on that point.

Sweden and East Germany finally agreed that the GDR would pay a lump sum, 70 million, to the Swedish creditors. Hans Corell does not want to disclose how much the original Swedish claim amounted to.

The agreement was signed Friday by Ambassador Hans Corell and Prof Dr Stephan Supranowitz, director of the Office for Legal Protection of GDR State Properties.

Before the agreement takes effect it is to be approved, ratified, by the elected legislatures of the respective countries. The Swedish government may possibly propose it to parliament as early as next week.

The agreement will then take effect three months after ratification. Half of the 70 million will then be paid three months later, and the balance six months after that.

The government will probably establish a special distribution commission charged with determining how much is to be paid each creditor.

Commenting on the agreement, Minister for Foreign Affairs Sten Anderson said: "It is with great satisfaction that I note it was possible to reach an agreement on this serious question. Considering the circumstances, the result can be considered satisfactory. With this agreement, another step has been taken in improved relations between Sweden and the GDR."

/9738

CSO: 3650/10

POLITICS

POLAND

#### SIWICKI PRAISES EFFICIENCY IMPROVEMENTS

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Aug 86 p 2

[Text] The Wojskowe Zaklady Motoryzacyjne No 3 (No 3 Military Motorization Works) in Gliwice, Silesia Province is moving along the typical road of Polish industrial plants--that of looking for most effective management methods. A no less characteristic trait: Problems regarding the labor force and supply. On 19 August, the ways to overcome such difficulties, and the effects of perfecting the plant activities were the main item on the agenda of the meeting of crews attended by Army General Florian Siwicki, member of the party Central Committee Political Bureau, minister of national defense. People were talking at their work stations. "We have put our money on rationalization"--the workers were saying. Due to rationalization suggestions implemented last year, and to the works savings program, production costs have been cut back by 40 million zloty. This year, we started implementing 51 new projects that will result in further substantial savings. The review of work stations has enabled us over the years 1982-1985 to do away with sixty redundant jobs in non-productive sectors. Experience gained in the past is a help in preparing a program of all-plant review and attestation of work stations. Other activities have proved useful--the setting up of economic teams, and the introduction of the labor brigade system. There is an ever-closer relationship between earnings and productivity, i. e. by means of systematic extension of piecework which is now applied to two-thirds of production line workers. Savings are also obtained through working out and introducing new spare parts regeneration methods.

All these activities are of importance not to the military requirements alone, even though the army is the works' number one patron. The works is also the supplier of, e.g., construction transportation plants.

The progress, visible at every production stage is due to the efforts. A great proportion of the workers have been for years connected with the plant. Quite a few of them have been learning their trades as turners, fitters or blacksmiths at the Works' own courses. This has been referred to by brigade leader Zbigniew Krzeszewski, and by Grzegorz Rosinski and Andrzej Szczerba, fitters. All of them stressed they were grateful to the Works for the respect of man prevailing there: Care concerning work conditions and social welfare ones. This, in turn, induced them to be socially active in the Party

and in the ZMS (Zwiazek Mlodziezy Socjalistycznej--Socialist Youth Union). Eighty-seven workers have joined the local blood donors' honor club. This year, they donated 667 liters of blood, including 18 liters to the Polish Mother Health Center blood bank in Lodz. A few years ago, the youth housing construction cooperative has been set up at the works. In a few days, the first members will have a roof of their own over their heads.

At the close of his visit, General Siwicki attended the meeting of the Works socio-political activists. He was accompanied by Jozef Niewiadomski, first secretary of the Lodz Voivodship Party Committee, and General Zbigniew Nowak, chief inspector of technology, Polish Army.

5174/9312  
CSO: 2600/660

POLITICS

POLAND

PROVINCIAL DEFENSE COMMITTEES HOLD MEETINGS

Poznan Focus on Criminal Activity

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 28 Aug 86 p 2

[PAP item: "Provincial Defense Committee Meets in Poznan"]

[Text] The Provincial Defense Committee [WKO] met in Poznan on 27 August. Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politbureau of the PZPR Central Committee, deputy chairman of the Council of State, took part in the meeting.

The session discussed, among others, the effects of the 10 May 1985 laws on amending some clauses of the criminal law and the misdemeanor law, as well as of the law on special criminal repression, on shaping the state of criminality and on strengthening safety, order, social discipline, and rule of law in Poznan Province; the WKO was informed about the work of the Provincial Commission for Combating Speculating in dealing with occurrences of speculating, corruption, waste, and economic mismanagement during the first half of 1986, and about its intentions for the second half of the year. The analysis indicated that occurrences of criminality and social pathology had still remained a dangerous phenomenon, despite the emergence--for the first time in several years--of some downward trends. There was no doubt that this was linked to the process of social and economic stabilization throughout the country, to the strengthening of the state, and to the ongoing reconstruction of the domestic markets. All that is obtained in Poznan Province as well.

At the session it was pointed out that in addition to circumstances due to stabilization, a major impact on the process of reduced criminality had also been exercised thanks to the measures introduced by the organs of the repression and of justice administration in Poznan Province.

Nowy Sacz, Skieriewice Meetings

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 30-31 Aug 86 p 2

[Text] Provincial Defense Committees [WKOs] met on 29 August in several provinces. The Nowy Sacz WKO discussed a multifaceted working plan to counteract and combat occurrences of social pathology and criminality in

1986-1990. It also dealt with problems of supplying people with foodstuffs and fuel.

The Skierniewice WKO discussed some problems of managing the health service, and evaluated the work of regional draft boards.

Rzeszow, Wloclawek Meetings

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 1 Sep 86 p 2

[Text] The Provincial Defense Committees [WKOs] met in Rzeszow and Wloclawek. WKO in Rzeszow dealt with problems of combating occurrences of social pathology, as well as supply and trade affairs. WKO in Wloclawek discussed some main aspects of the present socioeconomic situation in Kujawy and Dobrzyn lands, as well as the state of safety and public order.

12485

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POLITICS

POLAND

GDANSK PZPR SHIPYARD PLENUM DEBATES INDUSTRY FUTURE

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 22 Aug 86 p 2

[Text] The evaluation of the implementation of first half-year tasks, and the problems in connection with the current and 1987 annual plans were on the agenda of the PZPR plant committee plenum held on 21 August 1986.

Taking advantage of the presence of central and regional authorities representatives, viz. Stanislaw Bejger, alternate member of the Party Central Committee Political Bureau, first secretary of Gdansk Voivodship Party Committee; Janusz Maciejewicz, minister of the Metallurgy and Machine Industry; Edward Lukosz, deputy chairman, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers Planning Commission; many problems concerning the shipbuilding industry as a whole were discussed. First of all, shipyard hands pointed out conditions adverse to the industry as well as external stumbling stones preventing the achievement of satisfactory economic results, and hampering the realization of current tasks. Also pointed out: The absence from the proposed economic reform of a system of steps taking the specificity of shipbuilding into consideration.

This attitude was opposed by the central authorities' representatives who called the workers' attention to the fact that the supply limitations, with regard to metal products in particular, were objective in nature, that cuts in raw materials supply were required by the economy as a whole, and so could not be disregarded by the shipbuilding industry. Up to the end of the period under the current 5-year plan, the shipyards will not be supplied with more steel than this year, hence they must revise their plans accordingly. Moreover, it was neither possible nor desirable to modify the reform provisions in an excessively far-reaching way, solely to meet the shipyards' needs.

This did not mean that the shipbuilding industry would not be lent support. However, first of all, its economic effectiveness must be improved. The shipyards will remain a lasting factor of Poland's economy, principally due to the role played by them in exports. Any rumors concerning the intentions of their being closed down must be firmly refuted.

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POLITICS

POLAND

WORKERS RECALL 'LESSONS' OF AUGUST 1980 AGREEMENT

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22 Aug 86 p 3

[Roundtable discussion: industrial workers interviewed by RZECZPOSPOLITA reporter K. Szezesniak; date and place not provided]

[Text] In the wake of August agreements--the lesson has not been wasted. The memories of August agreements continue lingering in social awareness even though due to the passage of time we are seeing them at an angle quite different from 1980. This at least is the general conclusion drawn from RZECZPOSPOLITA reporter's talks with industrial workers.

[Wladyslaw Sitkowski, Chairman, 'Lenin' Steelworks labor union] "Six years ago, I was working at the cold rolling mill, and I do remember the true momentum of workers caused by the warping of socialist principles. What had happened later on is quite well known. Facing chaos, drastic steps had to be taken. However, neither the crews nor the authorities have forgotten their obligations under the agreements. The documents involved were the foundation of the reborn labor unions, which desired, and still desire the full implementation of the relevant postulates. It should be said that the majority of such postulates already belong to history: Saturdays off, the 3-year educational leave. We have simply got accustomed to better conditions, and are much more often thinking of what is still worrying us: Housing and supply shortages. However, after the crisis we have gone through, no government would have been in a position to work miracles. Not everything could be dealt with at once, and this will continue for quite a while, chiefly in the material sphere.

On the basis of August agreements, labor unions are striving for their full implementation. This requires time and, of course, claims alone are uncalled for as such claims had already once led the country astray. We must expand our participation in increasing the GDP, aware that through our common efforts we will in a few years' time achieve what is impossible today. At 'Lenin' Steelworks, we have initiated labor competition among the plants forming part of the group named for the revolution's leader. The point is that further social improvements must be honestly gained."

[Renata Jaskowiak, photochemical worker at "Unitra-Eltra" Radio Works in Bydgoszcz] "Up to the time following August 1980, when the entire country was

engulfed by the wave of strikes, already unnecessary, both myself and, I believe, the majority of people were optimistic. Later on, it so happened that our hopes failed to materialize. However, the letter of the agreements was being consistently adhered to. The spirit of the agreements had overcome the flow of time. To my mind, all the agreements had been calling for has been implemented in full. The workers have gained broad rights of co-decision at their plants, in city sections, and even concerning country-wide problems. The position is less advantageous regarding what could be called the material sphere. In spite of their early optimism, people are not rushing to work. The consequences of the crisis are even today being felt.

It is not that the government did not wish to meet all postulates. It is ourselves who are causing delays through poor organization and quality, failure to do our duty. And all the while the Pole can do it as the saying goes. This is quite obvious on construction sites abroad. Why can we not work like this at home? For quite some bureaucracy still persists, hands willing to work are shackled by a multitude of regulations and limitations, and incentives are in short supply. I think what is lacking is a system within which many workers could make more money for their honest toil throughout the daily 8 hours, producing at the same time more goods, machinery, etc.

The myth of manpower shortages is just eyewash spread in order to enable some people to conceal their incapacity. The attestation, so widely discussed, may not succeed if done by precisely the same bunglers.

To be brief, after all we have gone through over the last 6 years, I am sure people have perceived that good economic results must be worked for, and work they wish. I think that some new, second social contract is needed, whereunder the government would bind itself to eradicate all the obstacles with which the road of people's inventiveness and will to work is strewed--and the workers, to increase production. For this is of the greatest importance to our country. Effects and successes in the field of economy are precisely what we are short of".

[Wieslaw Kurzawinski, foreman at the gear section of the 'Zamech' in Elblag]  
"In spite of assorted grumbling, I think that people are not so badly off nowadays. I might be alone in this but will say that despite higher prices and market shortages, the standard of living has gone up. This may be not without some connection with the workers' August impetus. Now, authorities are taking workers into consideration--this is the second of the tangible effects. However, the agreements as signed have failed to deal with a number of problems for it could not be otherwise. They failed to be followed by social effects, among which the failure to compensate Saturdays off by higher productivity. And even Solomon..."

Furthermore, the machines are obsolete, there are raw materials shortages--and so, how to implement all August postulates? I do not want to absolve anyone. On the contrary, I believe that all the pledges signed in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie must be kept. While impossible today, this is what must be borne in mind and striven for. First of all, we must use elbow grease, meet home market's needs in order to do away with inflation and with fattening private initiative at the expense of all of us.

It is not before succeeding in this that we may say we have understood the spirit of August agreements, that we are obedient to their wise provisions. This is not impossible. As the workers desired, and have been granted, stronger influence upon the fate of their plants, they may not say they do not, or did not, know this or that. Nothing is concealed, and everyone is aware that results are obtained by toil alone, clever and well-organized. August and thereafter have taught us a sufficient lesson. The point is to draw appropriate conclusions and to apply them to everyday life".

5174/9312  
CSO: 2600/660

POLITICS

POLAND

BRIEFS

JAPANESE DELEGATES VISIT SEJM--Roman Malinowski, speaker of the Sejm, received on 30 August a study group of Japanese deputies, headed by Yoso Ishikawa who represents the ruling Liberal Democratic Party. The Japanese ambassador, Susumu Matsubara, was also present. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Sep 86 p 4] 12485/13104

NEW MAGAZINE PUBLICATION--In September the Thursday issue of ZIELONY SZTANDAR will change its format and will appear as a "Illustrated Magazine Weekly TIM". It is intended as a popular, glossy magazine, and will deal at length with contemporary life problems, including in particular family affairs. It will be addressed to readers of all generations. According to the magazine's publisher, the ZSL Publishing House, the new periodical will have a great variety of journalistic forms and columns. The first TIM issue will be on sale on 12 September. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Sep 86 p 4] 12485/13104

YUGOSLAV SECRETARY VISITS--Jozef Baryla, member of the Politbureau of the PZPR Central Committee, received on 28 August Stanislav Stojanovic, secretary of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, who was spending his vacations in Poland. The visit proceeded in a friendly atmosphere. Milivoje Maksic, the ambassador of Yugoslavia, attended the meeting. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Aug 86 p 2] 12485/13104

PAP, GDR PRESS COOPERATION--A cooperation agreement for the next 2 years was signed in Berlin by the Polish Press Agency PAP and ADN. The agreement, signed by Bogdan Jachacz, the PAP chairman, and Guenther Poetschke, the ADN director general, deals with all the activity areas of the two friendly news agencies, in particular with exchange of news bulletins, with further growth of exchange of experiences, as well as with technical and social cooperation. During his stay in the GDR, Bogdan Jachacz is also due to meet Heintz Geggel, head of the Agitation Department in the SED Central Committee. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Aug 86 p 7] 12485/13104

PARTY TALKS IN 'GLINIK' FACTORY--Zygmunt Muranski, member of the Politbureau of the PZPR Central Committee and head foreman at the RYDULTOWY Hard-Coal Mine, visited on 27 Aug the workforce of the GLINIK Drilling and Mining Machines Factory at Gorlice, the largest workplace in the Nowy Sacs province. The conversation, held at the workbenches in the assembly and steel construction divisions, was up to the point and full of specific notes.

Later, during a meeting at GLINKI in which Z. Muranski participated, problems were discussed of special interest to the workforce in the wake of the party's Tenth Congress. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Aug 86 p 2] 12485/13104

PALESTINIAN UNIONISTS VISIT--A delegation of the Palestinian General Workers' Union, headed by its secretary general, Ibrahim Hajder, is visiting Poland. The delegation was received by the OPZZ chairman, Alfred Miodowicz, and held talks with members of the OPZZ leadership. Opinions and information were exchanged on the situation and problems in the trade union movement. The impact and sense of the peace initiatives presented by Mikhail Gorbachev were stressed. Aggressive plans and actions of imperialist, militaristic, Zionist, neocolonialist, racist, and fascist forces were condemned. The OPZZ leadership confirmed the unwavering support of trade unionists and working people of our country for the just fight of the Palestinian nation for its just right for self-determination. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 29 Aug 86 p 2] 12485/13104

PARTY LECTURERS SEMINAR--In the PZPR Central Committee a seminar was held on 28 and 29 August for lecturers and party training teacher from all over the country, devoted to discussing party tasks in implementing the 10th Congress resolutions. Lectures and debates were concerned with ways and means of strengthening the instrumental, leading, and steering roles of the party, of achieving the goals of the socioeconomic development, and of implementing ideological tasks in the wake of the 10th Congress. Methods of effective popularization of the Congress documents were also discussed. Henryk Bednarski, secretary of the Central Committee, and Wladyslaw Loranc, head of the Ideological Department of the Central Committee, also participated in the seminar. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30-31 Aug 86 p 8] 12485/13104

PRON 'PATRIOTIC-DEFENSE' EDUCATION--A meeting was held on 29 August in the PRON National Council of representatives of signatories, collective and individual members, devoted to discussion of the accomplishments and the new initiatives of the movement in the area of patriotic and defense education. The meeting was chaired by Jan Dobraczynski, chairman of the PRON National Council. The debate was preceded by lectures by Jerzy Jaskiernia, secretary general of the PRON National Council, and by Read-Admiral Ludwik Dutkowski, first deputy of the Main Political Directorate of the Polish armed forces. They pointed out the main problems in the area of shaping patriotic and defense awareness and social attitudes. A suggestion was submitted to create a collective body for patriotic and defense education, affiliated to the PRON National Council. The suggestion will be discussed by the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the PRON National Council at its next session. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30-31 Aug 86 p 2] 12485/13104

SEJM, OPZZ HELD TALKS--Roman Malinowski, speaker of the Sejm, met with Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the OPZZ, accompanied by members of the OPZZ leadership. The discussion dealt with various significant problems which, in the opinion of the trade union movement, might be useful for the work of the Sejm and its commissions, and produce some legislative solutions needed for

providing a legal base for solving some vital problems of the working people; problems linked to the draft law on enterprises' social and housing funds, at present deliberated by the Sejm, as well as laws concerned with collective bargaining, were discussed in detail. Among other problems mentioned, there were those which require legal regulation and are concerned, *inter alia*, with organization and funding of social insurance and of workers' recreational fund. Trade union representatives presented with deep concern the feelings of the working people in connection with the proposed concept of the National Socioeconomic Plans until 1990, as well as the guidelines for the 1987 Central Annual Plan. The fruitful character of earlier contacts between the Sejm and the OPZZ was unanimously underlined, and the wish was expressed for continuation and broadening of such contacts. [Text] [Warsaw TRYDUNA LUDU in Polish 30-31 Aug 86 p 2] 12485/13104

CSO: 2600/696

POLITICS

ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU'S VIEWS ON NATIONAL HISTORY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 11, 10 Jun 86 pp 21-24

Article by Iulian Cartana, Constantin Mocanu for the Political-Ideological Course "Scientific Socialism and Revolutionary Reform of Romanian Society. Courses of Action to Carry Out the 13th RCP Congress' Decisions on General Implementation of the RCP Program for Construction of the Fully Developed Socialist Society and Preparations for the Start of Communist Construction in Romania" (First Year) /

Text The RCP and Nicolae Ceausescu have made notable contributions to the determination of the political and educational role of history and to demonstration of the importance of its lessons and conclusions to the present and future and to socialist and communist construction. In the party general secretary's view, knowledge of the nation's history, its glorious past, and the progressive traditions of the masses' struggle is a natural chief component of the effort toward patriotic revolutionary education of the workers and formation of the new man as a dedicated builder of the new order.

Nicolae Ceausescu made a number of vital points about this in his Report to the Ninth RCP Congress, where he said among other things that the RCP is "the continuer of the best traditions of the Romanian people's age-old struggle for national and social freedom," and that it "embodies the proletariat's progressive traditions and has deep roots in the Romanian workers movement."

The scientific approach to the Romanian people's history was fully set forth in Nicolae Ceausescu's Speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of 1-2 June 1982, in which he stressed the need of writing a uniform history "to present each stage of socioeconomic development appropriately and every historical period with its social struggles and political activity, and to describe, in the light of the truth based on facts and documents, both the roles of the social classes and people and those of the various state leaders and political, scientific and cultural personalities." In this highly significant view, a uniform interpretation and treatment of national history requires a uniform examination and analysis of the Romanian people's evolution in the Carpatho-Danubian-Black Sea area, on the very geographic and demographic ground where they were formed and developed from the earliest times to the present.

The Romanian people's ancestral home, harmonious and constantly strengthen and embellishment, as always been a source of strength for them and a powerful factor for their cohesion and unity. Inspired by the same ideals and aspirations, the Romanians always acted in close and firm unity regardless of the temporary boundaries that artificially divided them in some historical periods and fought resolutely, often at great sacrifices, against any foreign domination or imperialist expansionist policy of invasion of any parts of their national territory in order to safeguard their own existence and defend their country's integrity.

At the same time scientific treatment of the nation's history requires uniform presentation of the people's economic development which, despite any differences due to the particular historical conditions under which the Romanian lands developed, was generally uniform and reflected the material production of one and the same people. Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania maintained constantly developing economic relations and exchanges of material values that helped considerably to form a harmonious, interdependent economy.

The process of state organization and the Romanian people's political activity in general also went on uniformly over the years in the Carpatho-Danubian-Black Sea area. Connected by vital social and national interests in common, the Romanians on both slopes of the Carpathians were always on the same coordinates and established and kept developing political, military and cultural relations in their struggle for independence and social progress.

The Romanian people's characteristic unity was also graphically reflected in the advancement and development of their native culture and in the preservation and enrichment of their language, which made an essential contribution to development of their self-awareness and their national identity and characteristics.

Meanwhile the uniform view of Romania's history primarily requires an adequate presentation of the telling role of the masses, the various social classes, and the progressive, democratic and advanced revolutionary forces of the people in the rise of Romanian society to ever higher levels of progress and civilization. As the RCP Program points out, "The Romanian people's entire history is one of constant class struggles and battles fought by the masses for freedom and social justice, in defense of the nation's existence and independence, and for progress and civilization." From this viewpoint the conclusion is clear that the RCP arose and developed not outside but within the nation and the people and in the Romanian people's struggles for social and national liberation throughout their history, and that the nation has one history that also includes the history of the workers movement and the Communist Party.

The facts prove that the history of the Romanian people is the history of the development of the productive forces and social and production relations and that of the struggles for social and national liberation, freedom and independence against foreign invasion and domination.

Scientific, historical- and dialectical-materialist analysis of the formation and development of the Romanian people and their nation shows that, as Nicolae Ceausescu says, "All the changes were parts of an extensive revolutionary process of heroic struggles for defense of their existence, for the formation and development of their nation, for freedom and independence, and for economic and social progress." Throughout this unique and uniform, regular and dialectical

process great battles were fought against social oppression, for revolutionary reform of the productive forces and social relations, and for national socioeconomic progress, alongside the legendary battles for freedom and independence. This brings out the close interdependence and dialectical unity between the struggles for national freedom and independence and those for social justice and revolutionary, innovating social reform, between the internal revolutions and those in other countries, and between collaboration and solidarity among the progressive movements in Romania and the struggles for independence and social progress everywhere.

The uniform view of the Romanian people's history, the RCP's historical roots and its role in that history were enriched with new and important considerations in Nicolae Ceausescu's masterly speeches at the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee and the Main Party Activists on 24 July 1985 in honor of the 20th anniversary of the Ninth Party Congress and at the Solemn Assembly on 8 May 1986 on the 65th anniversary of the founding of the party. As Nicolae Ceausescu concluded from a far-reaching in-depth historical analysis, "We can now say with due pride on the RCP's 65th anniversary and after more than 100 years of the workers revolutionary movement's activity that the RCP has proved by its entire performance that it has never had more than one supreme goal, namely the greatness of the people and the nation as a whole, the welfare and happiness of the workers, defense of national sovereignty and independence, and the victory of socialism and communism in Romania."

#### Romanians' Material and Cultural Continuity in Their Homeland

Romanian society is now in a higher stage of historical progress, that of building the fully developed socialist society and of the advance toward communism. The present stage of Romania's development, characterized in the documents of the 13th RCP Congress and other party documents, is both a continuation and an enhancement of its multimillenary history played out in the Carpatho-Danubian-Black Sea regions, wherein all the socioeconomic systems so far known in man's history appeared in succession.

The Geto-Dacians were differentiated from the Thracian people, who were attested for the first time in writing in Homer's Iliad, and once the ties among the unions of tribes and the social-political structures were developed, the Geto-Dacian people began to form as a single people dwelling in the same area. This year, when we are celebrating the 2,500th anniversary of the first battles for freedom and independence of the Geto-Dacian people, whom Herodotus described as the bravest and most just of the Thracians, Romanian historical science is vividly bringing out the heroism and determination with which our ancestors rose against any invaders on behalf of an independent existence.

The process of unification and organization, from smaller state units to the centralized state under Burebista, directly reflected the development of Dacian society. Burebista remedied the situations that often caused intertribal wars, united the forces of all the Dacians, and formed a powerful army. The state he represented was centralized in the sense that it united the previous state units and became a state with a single center of leadership. It was also an independent state, subject to no one.

In the Dacians under Decebal the Roman Empire had to face a unified people, well-organized in a state of their own and determined to resist to the finish and to defend their independence at any price. Moreover the long period of wars between the Dacians and Romans bore witness in itself to the strength and endurance of the Dacian state and people.

Having a permanent development of their own, the Dacians were able to survive in history even after the Roman conquest and accordingly to go on existing by adjusting to the situation after the year 106. Al. D. Xenopol wrote, "The Dacian people did not disappear entirely. Only the crown of the tree was cut off, and the trunk remained in full vigor. The Roman element was grafted upon it, giving rise to the people who now embody both the Dacian energy and the propensity for civilization inherited from the Romans."

The Roman victory inaugurated a long period of coexistence wherein the welding of the Dacian and Roman civilizations was accentuated. As Nicolae Ceausescu said about it in his Speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of 1-2 June 1982, "As attested by the writings of those times, the archeological studies and the scientific data, that period saw the Daco-Roman symbiosis and the beginning of a new people, based on the best qualities of the Dacians and the Romans."

Some foreign authors have been asserting that the emperor Aurelian shifted the entire population from the north to the south of the Danube in 271-275 under pressure of the great migrations and invasions. But the scientific analysis of the sources proves that only the army, the administration and some of the wealthy population were withdrawn. Archeological, numismatic and epigraphic discoveries have revealed material evidence of the continuity of the new people in formation, who remained to defend their land and common interests in their ancient homeland. As the RCP general secretary said, "The ancestors did not leave the land of their birth in the hardest times but grew to love it, its mountains and plains and its rivers and lofty peaks, and stood fast in these regions defending their lives and their right to a free existence."

#### Uniform Development of Medieval Romanian Society, Struggle for State Unity

The Romanian people's continuity and uniform development are also demonstrated by the way their feudal states were organized. The Romanian principalities and voievodates, organized in valleys, on watercourses, and in mountain hollows and other favorable areas, were organizational forms of one and the same people. Later these smaller state units gave way to better organization in larger state units, and the three Romanian Principalities, Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania, were formed. They originated and developed in the struggle against foreign domination for unification in a strong state able to cope with foreign invasions and secure their independent existence.

The levels of economic and social development that brought about the Romanian people's political-governmental organization certainly could not have been preceded by any "historical vacuum." On the contrary, they demonstrate once again the Romanian people's continuity and deep roots in their ancestral land. In opposing the false theory of a "population vacuum" Nicolae Ceausescu said, "We tell all those who want to understand how the Romanian people were formed and

developed to look at the results of the archeological studies and digs and to read the writings of the great scholars of the times and they will better understand how the Romanian people, their culture and their language were formed."

The Romanian principalities were formed and developed under difficult conditions, having to maintain their existence and defend their freedom by fighting three great empires, the Ottoman, Habsburg and Czarist empires. To be sure, these hard conditions held up the people's socioeconomic development and the formation and development of the Romanians' unified national state in one period or another, but they could not prevent the fulfillment of the Romanian people's aspirations based upon their common origin and their will to overcome any difficulties and to become free and independent. The masses and the leaders of the three principalities kept striving for freedom, independence and stronger mutual ties.

Mircea the Great, whose ascension to the throne we are celebrating this year after six centuries, holds a place of honor in the series of great voievods who rose resolutely to the struggle against foreign domination in defense of their own existence and to assert the Romanian people's identity.

Michael the Brave's epochal achievement in uniting the three Romanian lands was a highly significant point in the Romanian people's struggle for development and preservation of their national existence and for freedom and independence. In the face of the obvious historical and national facts, some historians have been trying to maintain that the unification of the three Romanian lands reflected a "policy of conquest" pursued by the great Romanian prince, whereas actually as Nicolae Ceausescu said, "History itself has confirmed the correctness and objective necessity of Michael the Brave's action by the later fulfillment of his ideal, the ideal of all Romanians, and by the formation of the unified Romanian national state in the modern period. That is why Michael the Brave remains a brilliant, progressive figure in the golden book of the Romanian people."

In doing away with the historic Unification of 1601 the Ottoman and Habsburg empires consolidated their domination but did not succeed in doing away with the autonomy of the Romanian lands. Despite all obstacles the economic and cultural relations among the Romanian lands were increasingly strengthened and contributed to the growing assertion of the Romanian people's awareness of their unity in the following centuries. Printing of books "for all Romanians" and "for the instruction of all Romanians" kept increasing. The great Romanian chroniclers declared and demonstrated the Romanians' common origin and unity. The learned scholar Constantin Cantacuzino wrote, "But Romanians means not only the ones here but also those in Transsylvania, who are also related, the Moldavians and all those who speak this language, even if it differs somewhat in some words borrowed from other languages as mentioned above. They are all one... For they all came from one source."

Objectively and inevitably progressive social-political thought overcame the feudal fragmentation more and more effectively, ideas of unity predominating in it, and it called for unity of the entire Romanian people on a higher level. This vital social-historical process was based on the formation and development of the nation, a social-human community deeply rooted in the previous social-human community but superior to it by virtue of a higher level of unity of economic activity, language, territory, culture and awareness of the Romanian people's origin and unity.

## The Modern Period and the Higher Unity of the Romanian People

The great events that activated historical progress and marked Romanian society's entry into the modern period involved in their very development the idea of unity and interaction between the national and the social struggles.

In 1821 Tudor Vladimirescu rose to the struggle "for the good and the benefit of the whole country" and to meet "the people's demands," also pointing out the importance of the united cooperation of the Romanian lands for this purpose. The document of 5 April 1821, for example, cites the need of cooperation with the Romanian land beyond the Milcov, "Since Wallachia is of one mind and one voice with Moldavia, we can gain the rights of both principalities by helping each other."

Occurring under the same circumstances, in the same historical period, and for the same purposes, the revolutionary actions of 1848 were uniform throughout the Romanian lands. They concentrated on abolition of the feudal fees, emancipation of the serfs, proclamation of the bourgeois democratic freedoms, elimination of foreign domination, and national unity and independence in accordance with the aspirations to an independent Romanian nation.

The goals of national unity and independence could not be attained then because the 1848 revolution was put down by the intervention of the great empires but they were to be achieved later through the masses' efforts, first through the unification of 1859 inaugurating the Romanian national state and later through the acquisition of state independence in 1877.

Formation of the Romanian national state, a process completed at Alba Iulia on 1 December 1918, was an objective necessity because of Romanian social development itself and the demands for national socioeconomic, political and cultural progress. It helped to fulfill the Romanian people's age-old aspirations and the ideals for which countless generations of forebears fought and died.

The socialist and workers movement, an integral part of the nation's history and the people's uniform development, made active contributions to the aim of unification. The founding of the first workers organizations in the second half of the 19th century and later the formation of the Social-Democratic Workers Party of Romania in 1893 inaugurated the increasingly effective emergence of the working class as the most advanced social force of Romanian society. The working class and its revolutionary organizations played a vital part in Romania's whole development in the last 100 years.

Drawing its strength from the Romanian people's millenary history as the legitimate continuer of the Romanian revolutionary and socialist movement and the exponent of the working class and the most progressive political forces, the RCP has distinguished itself as an integral, essential part of Romania's social-political activity and its entire modern and contemporary history ever since its founding 65 years ago which we have just celebrated. In criticizing the profoundly mistaken view, a remnant of some old ideas of the Third International, that there are "two parallel histories" one of the Communist Party and the other of the nation, the party general secretary pointed out the need of uniform treatment of Romanian history as the only history that reflects the Romanian

people's entire development. As Nicolae Ceausescu said, "We must realize that the RCP is not outside the nation and the people, that Romania has just one history, and that the RCP was born of the social strife in the people's history. Their history is Romania's history and therefore Romania's history is the only history that will reflect their entire development."

Nicolae Ceausescu divided the course taken by the RCP in the 65 years of its glorious history into two great periods, the first from 1921 to 1944, including 20 years of complete illegality and bourgeois-landowner terror, and the second from 1944 to 1986 wherein the party became the leading political force of Romanian society.

In the first period the RCP took an important course of formation and organizational and ideological maturing, organizing and leading the struggles of the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia and the masses against exploitation and oppression and in defense of the entire people's national interests. The party also made an intensive effort to organize and unite the working class, in view of the significant fact that all the revolutionary battles of those years were fought in the name of unity, the United Workers Front, collaboration among communists, socialists and social-democrats, and cooperation with other anti-fascist, progressive and democratic forces as well.

When the military-fascist dictatorship was established and the odious Dictate of Vienna was imposed by Hitlerite Germany ceding part of the national territory to Horthyite Hungary, the RCP was the political force that rose to the defense of territorial integrity with the greatest determination, urging the entire people to fight against dismemberment of the country and in defense of its integrity, independence and sovereignty against Nazi Germany, fascism and war. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "Under these circumstances threatening Romania's very existence, the RCP began to organize the antiwar struggle with all its forces in order to extricate Romania from the conflict on the side of Hitlerite Germany and to align it with the Soviet Union and the countries of the anti-Hitlerite coalition."

#### Victory of the Revolution for Progress and National Independence

The armed insurrection of 23 August 1944 started the Antifascist and Anti-Imperialist Revolution for Social and National Liberation, and it stopped Romanian participation in the war on the side of Hitlerite Germany and led to the transfer of the entire Romanian army to the battle against Hitlerism for full liberation of the nation and the defeat of fascism. At the same time the victory of the August 1944 revolution cleared the way for some great revolutionary democratic reforms in Romania.

The Antifascist and Anti-Imperialist Revolution for Social and National Liberation inaugurated a new era in Romania's millenary history and opened the way to socialist revolution and construction and to Romania's increasingly effective advance in international affairs. Romania progressed through several historical stages in a brief historical period, from the bourgeois-landowner order to construction of the fully developed socialist society.

When it became legal and was reorganized in keeping with the new conditions and the new revolutionary-constructive aims, the RCP collaborated with the other

patriotic, democratic and revolutionary forces in an extensive social-political activity. In a broad mass action of unprecedented extent it mobilized and united the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia and the masses in the struggle for structural social reforms and solution of the urgent national problems. Thanks to these great revolutionary efforts, the first truly democratic worker-peasant government was established on 6 March 1945, and the Communist Party played a decisive part in it.

The unity of the working class and democratic forces was consolidated in the next few years, and the single workers party, the single party of the working class, was formed in 1948. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "This put an end to the temporary split and a single revolutionary party was formed that assumed its role of leading the people on the path of socialism, communism and national sovereignty and independence."

During the years of socialism radical changes were made in Romania's economic, political and cultural structure. Romania was transformed from an agrarian country with an underdeveloped industry and a backward agriculture to an industrial-agrarian country with a strong, modern industry largely equipped with the most advanced technology and a socialist agriculture in full progress. Science, education and culture were also intensively developed. These structural reforms permanently unified the people around the party. The Romanian nation acquired new characteristics and greater unity based upon friendly social classes and categories inspired by the same goals and vital interests and upon intensive promotion of the revolutionary conception of the world and life.

The great achievements of a period of more than 40 years of eager work, a period in which the 20 years or more since the Ninth Party Congress and since Nicolae Ceausescu was elected to head the RCP figure prominently, graphically illustrate the correctness of the policy of the RCP as the nation's leading political force that is honorably fulfilling its historic mission of leading the Romanian people to the highest peaks of progress and civilization.

Review of the 21 years since the Ninth Party Congress, which inaugurated a new regular stage of Romania's socioeconomic development, clearly brings out the originality and realism of the RCP's measures to develop and modernize the economy, to make all activity efficient, to improve the democratic structure for the entire people's active participation in socioeconomic management, and to form the masses' revolutionary awareness.

Historical experience has been continually proving that the RCP has never had higher aims or other noble purposes than service of the working class and the people to whom it belongs and the cause of socialism, peace and collaboration among peoples. That is why the party won a well-merited prestige and enjoys the complete confidence of the workers, peasants, intellectuals, all workers regardless of nationality and the entire people.

Along with the revolutionary social reforms, the party itself has undergone qualitative innovations in keeping with the historical stages, the present requirements, and new facts and demands of experience, Romanian social development, and international affairs as well. Today the RCP is a united party, a strong mass party, the vital center of the nation, and the mobilizing and driving force of the entire people's energies on the path of socialism and communism.

As Nicolae Ceausescu said, "The party is the nucleus around which all society gravitates and which radiates the energy and light that activate and maintain the operation of the whole mechanism of the socialist system. In its turn the party is constantly regenerated by the powerful rays of energy and light that are constantly beamed toward from the Romanian socialist nation."

#### History As the Source of Communist Convictions and Party Ideological Work

The RCP regards knowledge of history as the source of communist convictions and of its ideological and educational work. In the view of the RCP and its general secretary knowledge of history has many formative effects. Among other things this means that historical science not only includes political history as an inherent, natural part of it but is political itself. For by its very nature and mission history always has a political dimension, and there has always been a constant interaction between historical science and political activity. The RCP's revolutionary policy is vital to historical science, it opens up broad horizons to it, and it lends it a pronounced militant character on behalf of the people. In its turn historical science performs its true social mission by serving that policy.

Accordingly the RCP and its general secretary keep stressing the great importance of knowledge of history, and national history especially, to further improvement of ideological and political-educational work and to formation of the new man. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "History provides conclusions and lessons about the great processes of social development and the peoples' existence over the years by bringing out both what was useful and progressive and served social progress and the barriers to evolution that have cost humanity dearly and obstructed nations' progress. The findings of historical research can help contemporary man to better understand the objective laws governing society and the necessity of meeting the demands of progress. Moreover the conclusions of history are expected to help improve contemporary social organization and to support relations among states and nations as well as peaceful collaboration among all peoples of the world."

Accordingly both the advantages of the study of history and the aims of historical science have been comprehensively formulated, which aims include attainment of political and practical objectives and thorough understanding of the mechanism of social evolution in order to interpret its developmental trends and to adopt and implement measures that can accelerate its march toward progress.

History is a science of the past, but however important that past may be, it cannot and must not be confined to study of it. History is also a science of the present, in the sense that it constantly reexamines its interpretations by viewing the past from the height of the present, but also in the sense that the present itself is an object of study and research in its development. History is called upon to draw the lessons from analysis of contemporary social development and to help to combine the efforts of all the peoples' creative forces in the effort to revolutionize society and to build the new order. That is why the party has been emphasizing knowledge of the Romanian people's glorious past and indoctrination of the workers in the spirit of the most advanced traditions of the struggle of the people and their revolutionary and progressive political forces for national freedom, social justice, progress and civilization.

Study of national history and the origin and continuity of the Romanian people on their ancestral land is basic to all educational and political-ideological work.

Accordingly knowledge of the Romanian people's glorious history helps to foster love of country and forebe s and the feeling of national dignity and pride and to form and developa sense of responsibility for the nation's future. By making out the objective truth of history and determining the struggles and sacrifices of the Romanian people and past generations, the workers learn to understand RCP policy more thoroughly, to protect and consolidate the revolutionary gains, to strengthen national sovereignty and independence, to bring the nation up to new heights of progress and civilization, and also to make a consistent, patriotic and revolutionary effort to attain these vital goals. As the party general secretary said, "We cannot speak of patriotic socialist education without knowing and honoring the past and the labor and struggle of our ancestors. We have a glorious past, and it is the Romanian people's most precious heritage, which it is our duty to improve and enrich with new material and cultural gains while bringing the people and the Romanian socialist nation up to new peaks of civilization."

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POLITICS

ROMANIA

FACT FINDING TRIP BY MILITARY, WRITERS UNION REPRESENTATIVES

Bucharest ROMANIA LITERARA in Romanian No 43, 23 Oct 86 p 2

[Unsigned article: "Documentary Itinerary"]

[Excerpts] During 12-17 October of this year, the Higher Political Council of the Army together with the Writers Union of the Socialist Republic of Romania organized a fact finding trip for the purpose of becoming acquainted with certain important events in the struggle of the Romanian people for freedom and national independence and with the changes that have taken place in the life of cities and villages of our country during the years of socialist building and revolution, especially in the period inaugurated by the IXth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party.

The following participated: Dumitru Radu Popescu, president of the Writers Union, George Balaita, vice president of the Writers Union, Hajdu Gyozo, member of the Writers Union Council, Traian Iancu, Writers Union director, Mircea Tomus, Daniel Dragan, Platon Pardau, Ion Potopin, Victor Nistea, Colonel Constantin Zamfir and Colonel Dumitru Radulescu from the Military Publishing House and Colonel Lecturer Dr Nicolae Ciobanu from the Military Academy.

This 5-day fact finding visit covered the cities of Pitesti, Slatina, Craiova, Tg. Jiu, Petrosani, Deva, Sibiu, Rimnicu Vilcea and Tirogoviste. The most important accomplishments of these counties, especially the fundamental economic, socio-cultural and scientific changes they experienced during the "Nicolae Ceausescu Era," were presented with the support of representatives of local party organs. Visits to the Dacian castle complex in the Orastia mountains and in the Hateg area, the royal court at Tirogoviste, the museums of Pitesti, Craiova, Tg. Jiu and Tirogoviste occupied a special place of distinction. In the course of the trip, informative presentations were made based on the most recent historiographic research concerning Dacian battles against the Romans, the Posada battle of 1330, Iancu of Hunedoara's battle with the Turks near Sibiu in 1442, the Selimbar battle of 1599, the Riureni camp organized during the 1848 revolution, the Jiu and the Olt Valley battles of 1916, the insurrection supported by the masses after 23 August 1944 against the Hitlerite-Horthyist troops as well as other important events in the struggle of our people for freedom and independence.

Literary gatherings took place in the cities of Craiova, Tg. Jiu, Petrosani, Deva, Sibiu and Tigraviste in which workers, military officers, military school students and students at other educational institutions participated. During these activities, the conception of the Romanian Communist Party regarding the role of literature in the process of revolutionary, patriotic and political education was presented, along with such works as "The Military History of the Romanian People," "The War Between the Gets and the Persians," as well as other works inspired by important events in the struggle against foreign domination. The presentations of the poets and novelists who participated as well as those of the members of the literary gatherings of the various cities visited contained humanist, patriotic and revolutionary messages.

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CSO: 2700/51

POLITICS

ROMANIA

READER'S QUERY ON SIGN OF CROSS ANSWERED

Bucharest MAGAZIN in Romanian No 36, 6 Sep 86 p 4

[Letter to the editor by Bucharest reader Ilias Grigorescu published in the "Dialogue with the Readers" section, answered by "G.B."]

[Text] [Question] Is it true that "the sign of the cross" predates Christianity and that it symbolized the sun? In what country?

[Answer] The sign you inquire about can be found in caves inhabited by man as far back as the paleolithic age, even in our own country. As a matter of fact, according to the opinion of a French author, the oldest inscription of this kind in stone can be found here in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic region. The cross had many meanings in various ancient religions and myths. In cultures which worshipped the Sun and fire--including the Geto-Dacian--this sign symbolized this sacred heavenly body, the crossing lines representing rays of light. The sign of the cross became a religious symbol to the Egyptian priests as well, carved or drawn images of which appeared on religious monuments in Egypt even 4,000-5,000 years ago. As a sacred symbol of the Sun, the cross was often worn as a talisman. Christianity took this symbol over, being unable to eliminate it from the faith of those who had adopted the new religion, voluntarily or otherwise. Theologians gave this sign a plausible interpretation, taking it to symbolize the cross on which Christ was crucified. But scientific truth proves otherwise, namely, that those condemned to death in the Roman Empire were crucified on a vertical scaffolding shaped in the form of a T, not a cross. The sign was later sanctified by the Church, though theological commentaries on this matter are varied and inconsistent, the meaning of the sign being, in essence, death and suffering.

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CSO: 2700/44

POLITICS

ROMANIA

BOOK ON 1848 TRANSYLVANIAN POLITICAL FIGURE REVIEWED

Timisoara ORIZONT in Romanian No 39, 26 Sep 86 p 3

[Article by University Lecturer Dr Ioan Avram: "A Transylvanian Fighter"]

[Excerpts] Published under the aegis of the Council of Socialist Culture and Education, of the Committee for Socialist Culture and Education of Timis County and of the Timis Institute of Education and Sociocultural Studies, the work "Ioan Balas un vice prefect al lui Avram Iancu" ["Ioan Balas, a vice-prefect of Avram Iancu"], edited by the Timisoara historian Radu Paiusan, details the revolutionary activity of the attorney Ioan Balas, who was elected during the 1848 revolution in Transylvania vice-prefect of the "Auraria Gemina" prefect's office headed by Avram Iancu. The author highlights the most significant aspects of the life and activity of the revolutionary vice-prefect, especially on the eve of and during the revolution of Transylvanian Romanians for social justice and national liberation.

Ioan Balas came from a family of Romanian border guards, though he did not follow the military tradition of his family, dedicating himself instead to the study of law and graduating with honors from the Cluj Law School located in the heart of Transylvania. After working as an attorney in Sibiu, Balas became state fiscal controller of the Cricau locality, where the revolutionary events of 1848-1849 in Transylvania found him. Because of the influence he had on Romanians in Cricau, but especially because of his recognized political and organizational abilities, he was elected captain of the national guard in Cricau in September of 1848.

In his capacity as vice-prefect, Balas also functioned as military commandant, especially as administrator of property belonging to the Romanian state and nation. He distinguished himself in an operation during which Hungarian guards were disarmed. He won the first Romanian victory against a Hungarian army at the battle of Piriul Cingaului, considered by historians to be the first great victory by Avram Iancu's revolutionary army against the oppressors.

Balas' revolutionary activity on Transylvanian soil ended in March 1849 when he went on a mission to Banat from which he was unable to return owing to the occupation of Transylvania by Hungarian troops. He was forced to seek refuge in Wallachia where he undoubtedly contacted revolutionary leaders in the area. The activity of the Romanian revolutionary Ioan Balas is an example of humanism and of the desire for understanding between the Romanian nation and coinhabiting

nationalities of Transylvania. His humanism and his lack of chauvinism are attested by evidence of the day collected in this volume. In recognition for his revolutionary activity, Ioan Balas was elected deputy to the Romanian Diet of Transylvania during 1863-1864. Even after his term, Balas remained one of the most consistent fighters for social justice and national freedom.

It is to the author's credit to have brought to the fore facts about this little known national hero who became a shining national figure through his revolutionary activity, becoming part of the group of Romanians fighting against social exploitation and national oppression, but especially for national unity, a group that has existed since time immemorial and whose members have sacrificed themselves for the sake of Transylvania's sacred soil.

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CSO: 2700/48

POLITICS

ROMANIA

ACTIVITIES OF 19TH CENTURY TRANSYLVANIA CULTURAL SOCIETY

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian No 39, 26 Sep 86 p 9

[Article by V. Curticapeanu: "'Astra'--Vital Center"]

[Excerpts] Seat of culture and science, the "Astra" society was a vital center of Transylvania towards which gravitated small and large literary associations of Romanians living under the Habsburg and Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

At the same time, "Astra" began in Transylvania the process of involving the popular masses in modern, public life. The society constantly sought to renew Romanian society and to bring it into step with the ways of the modern world. Through "Astra," Romanians living in Transylvania became more self-assured and more aware of the worth and historical mission of their nation. This old nation of peasants formed at the end of the 18th century took steps, through the efforts of "Astra," towards becoming a modern nation by strengthening its ranks with a powerful class of intellectuals and by attracting to its side businessmen, tradesmen and workers.

Of course, "Astra" was not a revolutionary society though it was innovative and progressive. By means of specific cultural methods, it brought about certain structural changes in thought patterns which it was able to stamp on Romanian society.

Like other societies of its time such as "Academia Romana" of Iasi, "Astra" was a veritable stronghold of Romanian national culture, an autonomous cultural republic and a tireless seat of political struggle towards the grand ideal of a united Romanian nation. Both societies were driven by a "constructive-visionary" conception--in Lucian Blaga's phrase--of a future united Romania.

However, "Astra" was not able to continue this struggle for national unity. Political circumstances within the Habsburg monarchy after 1867 as well as its own modest means did not allow it to direct its attention to this goal. Instead, "Astra" pursued more ample and more diversified goals, proving itself to be the first and greatest forum of intellectual activity in the whole of Romania. The society managed to launch an entire generation of intellectuals tied to the people and to create a superior cultural climate founded on the values of the people and based on high moral principles, thus elevating the

cultural level of the people at large in Transylvania. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the great generation of the Union of 1918 owed its existence largely to "Astra" and its efforts. Many of the fighters and patriots who paved the way for the day of 1 December 1918 were educated in the great school which was "Astra," sustaining themselves with the literature, history and culture it provided, taking advantage of its scholarships and participating in the lofty lessons of political and patriotic education given during its meetings and gatherings.

We are the only country whose unification was realized as a result of such a lengthy preparatory process after the downfall of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. It is to "Astra"'s credit that Romanians in Transylvania had the political maturity at the beginning of the century to determine their own destiny by withdrawing from the dualist state and uniting themselves firmly with Romania.

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POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

FURTHER CRITICISM OF SERBIAN ACADEMY DRAFT MEMORANDUM

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Oct 86 p 11

[Article by V. V.: "Academic Funeral for Self-Management"]

[Text] The working document prepared by the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts on the social situation and national relations in the Yugoslav federation is an attempt to discredit everything that has been created in our country.

During the past week, the 70-page document, called a preliminary draft of a SANU [Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts] memorandum on the situation in Yugoslav society, has been transferred from the pages of part of the press to the center of public attention, from two rather long articles published in VECERNJE NOVOSTI disputing the basic theses of the academicians, particularly those related to the situation in Serbia, to comments in other newspapers and news reports, all the way up to statements by officials at the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts.

The excerpts and comments on parts of the draft memorandum that were published on 24 and 25 September in VECERNJE NOVOSTI indicate that these are politically disturbing and very controversial positions on issues related to contemporary politics, ideology, and the economic situation. According to NOVOSTI, the first part of the memorandum, which deals with the crisis in the Yugoslav economy and society, notes that the economy is following "antihistorical paths of development" and that "nothing worse can happen to an economy..."

"Ornamental Principle"

According to NOVOSTI, self-management is first mentioned in connection with the late Boris Kidric's fear in 1950 that the political system might evolve toward polycentrism unless this were prevented in time by the creation of workers' councils for branches of the economy at the national level. Since even then people "ignored" Kidric's warnings that society was headed toward several state capitalisms that would be "parochial with respect to the whole and bureaucratic-centralist with respect to the workers' collectives," today, according to the authors of the memorandum, we have neither a "real state nor real self-management" in Yugoslavia. According to them, self-management was "imposed by the will of the political leaders," and serves only as an "ornamental principle, and not as a basis for society."

When the funeral for self-management is over, NOVOSTI says, the memorandum tries to give a scholarly form and arguments for all past and present misfortunes being a consequence of the servile attitude of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia [CPY] toward the Comintern. Specifically, it is claimed that the CPY consistently followed the strategy of the Comintern, and that the communist parties in eastern, central, and southern Europe must be based upon national movements, even if they are clearly anticommunist.

#### Anticommunist Program

If the national question in Yugoslavia has been solved in accordance with the Comintern model, does this mean, NOVOSTI asks, that our solution to the national question is identical to that of other countries where the Comintern's influence in temporal and historical respects was longer and stronger? And in what kind of egg did this Comintern model "lurk" since it hatched so suddenly in 1974? This newspaper states that it is easy to conclude from the memorandum that what the authors are grieving for and what they are yearning for is historically well known, and that it is objectively closer to the Comintern and the Comintern's later models than everything that we have today.

And everything thereby becomes clear, NOVOSTI writes. The authors of the memorandum claim that two republics arranged Yugoslavia's social and economic system in accordance with their own tastes and needs, and that the two of them and their leaders are responsible not only for the situation in Yugoslavia, but also for the catastrophic position of the Serbian people. Since, according to them, the Stalinist and Cominternist legacy is having a powerful effect, the state of people's minds indicates that the political crisis is approaching the critical point of the complete destabilization of Yugoslavia.

Furthermore, according to them, Yugoslavia's political system today does not have any of the advantages of modern political systems--it is neither a liberal democracy or a democracy of councils, and it is not even an enlightened bureaucratic system. It is difficult to imagine a true democratization without alternative development concepts, the authors say, which in turn cannot exist unless the Serbian people obtain a state like those that all the other peoples have.

In short, NOVOSTI says, all of their "alternatives" openly conflict with the legacy of the revolution and the principles of the existing social and constitutional system, which no one can reject a priori and for the destruction of which no one can call openly, regardless of all its weaknesses, contradictions, blunders, and distortions. This is because the text that is circulating around Belgrade is neither a struggle of ideas nor an intellectual and rhetorical exercise, but rather an open nationalistic and anticommunist program which calls upon the "Serbs to assemble," in a new form but with the old arguments, as NOVOSTI states among other things.

Neither Personal Nor Official

The 24 September EKSPRES POLITIKA published statements from the Academy, quoting Milos Macura, the chairman of the SANU Communist Actif, who says that he is shocked that something like that could happen among us, that parts of a text that are in the process of creation, at the beginning of that process, are being published, and that vile insinuations at SANU's expense are being made in it. This newspaper also reported that the Commission had a meeting at which it reached page 30 in "cleaning up the text" and that new working groups had been charged with modifying or completely changing some parts of the text. Furthermore, the report says that the next meeting of the Commission will be on 6 October, and that the definitive text should be proposed to the Presidency, which will then forward it for adoption to the SANU Assembly.

A day later, POLITIKA published a statement by Dr. Dusan Kanazir, the president of SANU, in which he says that he does not want to make any personal or official statements until the Presidency meets, after which there will be an official public announcement. Dejan Medakovic, the Academy's general secretary, according to the same article, has unofficially said that although it is incomprehensible how this document was made public, the Commission will continue the preparation and handling of the assigned topic, in accordance with the usual verified procedure. The journalist concludes the report by stating that he was unable to get the contents of the document in question.

The same newspaper published an announcement by the Association of Serbian Writers, which rejects the claim that it knew anything about the memorandum or that it had been "circulated" through the Association. Addressing VECERNJE NOVOSTI, Antonije Isakovic, the vice president of SANU and the head of the Commission, cited the decision by the SANU Assembly in May 1985, when it was decided that a document should be drafted on the social situation in Yugoslavia and national relations within the Yugoslav federation. He furthermore emphasized that "until the Commission approves the text, it cannot be called a preliminary draft," warning that this newspaper, by obtaining one of the versions of the working manuscript, was using the Watergate method.

At the Zija Dizdarevic literary meetings in Fojnica, according to the 27 September POLITIKA, in a conversation with Oskar Davico, the prominent writer, answering a question about the intensive politicization among writers, cited the latest anti-AVNOJ [Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] attempt with the following comment: "SANU is not a scientific and artistic institution, but a hotbed of chauvinism." "I am saying this publicly," Davico added, "with Antonije Isakovic and his society in mind." He also raised the question of whom they considered to be representatives of Serbia--perhaps Draza's followers, or Ljoticev's?

#### The Commission Is Not the Government

The polemics on the pages of VECERNJE NOVOSTI continued on 28 September with an editorial commentary, which notes, among other things, that the Commission is not yet a government, nor Isakovic a president to be replaced through a Watergate. It also states that in connection with a conversation between that newspaper's editor and Isakovic, it is not said anywhere what their position and the position of the Commission is on the materials related to the memorandum and the version of it that has been obtained so far...

A day before, in a rather long article, an EKSPRES POLITIKA journalist referred to the whole case, quoting the statements by the academicians and citing part of the text published in VECERNJE NOVOSTI, and commenting on them as follows: "According to the quotations from this document, our entire heritage is being called into question. Yugoslavia is tottering, and perhaps it has never had a solid foundation. The communist party blindly served the Comintern, especially in settling the national question, and naturally the Serbian people suffered the most... The academicians therefore gave themselves the task of warning the Yugoslav public, feeling that they were in the possession of facts that obliged them to give their views of our reality," the EKSPRES journalist writes.

They are now protesting because a text has been published which is still being created, because during editing they will remove everything that the Commission considers unacceptable. And they are right to protest, but the question remains--can the tone of this document be so edited and can its foundations be so shifted that it does not resemble what has already been written?

#### Undeniable Role of Scholars

At the 13th LCY Congress, it was concluded that it is necessary to make maximum use of the wisest people in our society so that we can find the best ways to emerge from the social, economic, and political crisis. Consequently, no one denies that we are in a crisis and that scholars have an obligation to say what they think about our reality and warn about shortcomings; no one can be free from a reexamination of his actions. This makes the responsibility of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts even more significant at this time, because in the final analysis the problem is not the criticism of the current social situation, but rather the fact that with these and similar documents SANU would step onto the political stage and become a destructive political entity instead of a scholarly one, which offers a program contrary to the LCY Program, the EKSPRES commentator concludes.

And this is how VECERNJE NOVOSTI ends its latest commentary, on Sunday, 28 September: "We have commented on a "working document" and an "unofficial version, to put it briefly, in order to make our contribution to the attempts to ensure that the majority of what is said in that text never becomes official, and that no one ever has to experience an order based on Isakovic's schemes."

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SOCIOLOGY

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

JOB DISLIKE PREVALENT AMONG YOUTH

West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 147, 23 Sep 86 p 2

[Article datelined IWE Berlin 23 Sep 86: "Many Young People in the GDR Dissatisfied With Their Jobs"]

[Text] Apparently a relatively large number of young people in the GDR are dissatisfied with their occupations. This is linked to the state's "assigning" of graduates according to "society's needs," even if the students' occupational interests happen to lie in a very different area. Studies done at intervals by the Leipzig Central Institute for Research on Juveniles showed that job satisfaction after the first year of apprenticeship was highest--71 percent--among those young people whose job preference was approximately or completely met. It was significantly lower (20 percent) among those who had wanted a different job specialty. With more years of training or work, the connection grew less distinct. Either the apprentices and workers had gotten used to the job or they had changed it. The Leipzig institute assessed the proportion of those uninterested in their jobs either at the time of decision making or later as "entirely too high." It went on to criticize the fact "that young people are not adequately trained in willingness to exert themselves." It said that that had "consequences for devotion to the job." The study also criticized the illusory ideas about jobs held by parents and young people. Girls in particular were hindered in "adapting themselves to the real working world" due to sexually stereotyped training from their parents. It was thus concluded that employment counseling and information needed more improvement.

The East Berlin journal BERUFSBILDUNG considers more effective training of GDR apprentices for "devotion to the job" necessary to lower the undesirably high rate of job switching following the completion of training. The trade journal pointed out that "every societally unjustified change of job, profession or enterprise" causes economic losses and entails "problems in the systematic and planned allocation of the labor pool."

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SOCIOLOGY

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

TRAINEES COMPLAIN ABOUT STRUCTURED RECREATION

West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 148, 24 Sep 86 pp 2-3

[Article datelined IWE Berlin 24 Sep 86: "GDR Apprentices Feel Recreational Programs Are 'Coercion'"]

[Text] Many apprentices in the GDR feel they are being patronized through the opportunities for structuring leisure time offered by the youth organization FDJ and by the vocational schools, as is noted in polls conducted by the East Berlin Central Institute for Vocational Training. The apprentices give as reasons for their dissatisfaction "administrative approaches by the teachers," as well as too many formal, "required" FDJ activities. Work on the teams organized by the GDR youth organization is characterized as "coercion" by many apprentices. Only about half of them cite school clubs and FDJ groups as offering good possibilities for structuring leisure time. From the outset, the political and ideological FDJ study year is not felt to be recreational activity.

The apprentices' real recreational interests are scarcely met by such programs according to the studies. Quite clearly, spending time with a friend or girl friend, something which frequently diverts people from the recreational activities sponsored by the trade school, is ranked at the top of the preference list. Not infrequently the apprentices deplore the fact that being in love is not taken into consideration more. The apprentices' interest in listening to music and watching television is significantly less than during their school years. On the other hand, motorcycling is enjoying growing popularity. Sports play a significant role for only a few apprentices. With respect to the FDJ group, "desired for individually organized meetings with voluntary participation and for more joint effort during studies and recreation are at the top" of the ranking.

The striving for an individual's own structuring of his leisure time is, however, viewed with mixed feelings by the vocational training and youth organization officials. They point out that "individual structuring must not be confused with an independent course," but that the apprentices' recreational activity demands "a basic orientation appropriate to concepts of class." How both demands can be met in the future is to be discussed at an exchange of views sponsored by the State Secretariat for Vocational Training and the Ministry of Culture and scheduled for October in Schwerin. Providing more attractive recreational programs is supposed to keep the apprentices from evading the FDJ's ideological influence.